PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.

 $18\overline{49-1850}$.

NEWARK, N.J.:

1850.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. IV. 1849. No. 1.

NEWARK, May 17th, 1849.

In accordance with the By-Laws, the Society met at 12 o'clock in their room in the Library Building. The President, Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, on taking the Chair, congratulated the members on their being permitted at last to assemble in their own commodious and well arranged apartment. The Society now not only had a name, but so far as its library and cabinets were concerned, a locality also; and he doubted not that the time would come when even more enlarged accommodations would be required.

He also took occasion to present in the name of Madame Van Polanen, Van Doornick, of Bridgeport, Conn., "Notices of the Life and Character of Roger Gerard Van Polanen," at one time Minister to the United States: accompanying the presentation with some remarks relative to the family of the donor, who was reared on the banks of the Passaic, at Belleville.

After the minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, the Corresponding Secretary reported upon the correspondence of the Society and laid upon the table letters from Rev. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, Dr. A. L. Elwyn and Wm. B. Reed, Esq. of Philadelphia in acknowledgment of their election as honorary members; from Edward Armstrone, Esq., of Philadelphia, in relation to an intended publication of a Family Genealogical History; from Mr. S. V. Smith, Librarian of the Penn. Hist. Soc., with a fac-simile of a very ancient map of a part of New Jersey drawn by him for the Society; from

Col. Robert G. Johnson, Mr. S. Alofsen and Mr. F. H. Wolcott, with donations; from the Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; the Historical Societies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Georgia, and the American Philosophical Society, acknowledging the receipt of the Society's publications, &c.; from Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D., stating that the death of a near relative would prevent his being present with the Society, as was expected; and from various individuals in the State in reference to

the Society's affairs.

The Map transmitted by Mr. Smith is entitled "A Mapp of Rariton River, Milstone River, South River, Raway River, Boundbrook, Greenbrook and Cedarbrook, with the plantations thereupon: also those of Chinquarora, Wickatonk, the heads of Hop River, Swiming River, and Manasquam River, likewise appends some on Hackingsack River." The Secretary pronounced it a valuable relic, the surveys upon which it was based having been made about 1685 by John Reid, who was sent over by the Scotch Proprietors in 1683. He had been gardener to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and a letter from him to a friend in Edinburgh is given in "Scot's Model." He acted for several years as Deputy to the Surveyor General.

The Librarian announced the donations received since the last meeting, and reported that since the organization of the Society in 1845, nearly six hundred volumes had been presented to it, and more than nine hundred and fifty manuscripts, originals and copies. The number of volumes now in the Library was about one thousand, and the pamphlets, which had been classified and arranged for binding, would add more than fifty to that number. Preparations for a full catalogue had been completed.

The Treasurer presented a report of his receipts and expenditures, showing a balance in the Treasury of \$214.75.

Mr. WHITEHEAD, from the Special Committee appointed to urge upon the Legislature the propriety of adopting immediate measures to procure from England copies of the missing Minutes of the Provincial Council and Assembly and an Analytical Index to the Colonial Documents, known to exist there:—reported that they memorialized the Legislature, in conformity with the directions of the Society, and through the courtesy of the committees of the two Houses, were permitted to appear in person before them, and a large number of the

members, and urge the wishes of the Society. But no action was taken upon the subject, nor any reports made by the Committees.

Mr. W. stated that after the failure of the application to the Legislature, a letter had been received from Mr. Henry Stevens in London, in relation to the New Jersey Papers deposited in the State Paper Department and Public Libraries there, of such a tenor as to induce him, with the consent and approbation of some of the members, to revive the project of procuring the desired information respecting the papers by means of private subscription. He had, therefore, as Corresponding Secretary, issued a card soliciting donations, which met with such a response as placed beyond doubt the success of the measure. One remittance had already been made, and the work had by this time commenced. The amount yet wanted to complete the fund was about \$200. He read a letter to Mr. Stevens on the subject, and submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:

Whereas, Donations have been made to the Treasury by various individuals towards the creation of a fund to be expended in obtaining information respecting the Colonial Documents and other original papers connected with the history of New Jersey which exist in

England-

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to take charge of said fund and expend the same for the designated purpose, in such manner as they may deem advisable for the interests of the Society.

The Hon. James G. King, Messrs. Whitehead and Duryee were

appointed the Committee.

Farther subscriptions, to the amount of one hundred dollars, were received during the meeting.

JUDGE DUER, from the Committee on Publications, reported that another number of the Periodical had been issued and distributed. The arrears for the publication being large, the Committee hoped the members would see the propriety of promptly forwarding to the agent the amount of their subscriptions, inasmuch as it is only from the receipts for the publication that its expenses are borne.

The third volume of the Collections, (the Provincial Bench and Bar by Mr. Field) had met with general favor and was considered highly

creditable to the Society.

Mr. Wm. B. Kinner, from the Committee on Purchases, reported an addition to the Library by purchase of nearly a hundred volumes, all of them valuable, and most of them rare. They again asked the members to communicate to them any information respecting collections of papers—MSS. or newspapers—as well as single works illustrative of the history of the country, that could be purchased; particularly complete sets of the New Jersey Journal, Collins's State Gazette, and the Newark Sentinel.

The Committee would also be glad to secure any odd volumes of the Journals of the Council or Senate, and Assembly—and volumes of the pamphlet laws.

The Committee on Nominations reported sundry candidates for membership, who were all duly elected; and other nominations were received.

Mr. Kinney then read from a letter written in 1832, by Hon. Silas Condit, an interesting account of some of the ancestors of Gen. Washington, which Mr. C. had met with in the local history of the County of Wilts in England.

The Corresponding Secretary drew the attention of the Society to some articles which had appeared in the Trenton State Gazette impeaching the correctness of the Society's records. He had briefly replied to the charges in a card published in the Newark Daily Advertiser, and now requested the members present, disposed to examine into the matter, to inspect the journals for themselves.

In an article since communicated to the Advertiser by the Editor of the Gazette, he and his former colleague (Mr. Bradley,) had been accused of refusing, as members of a Committee raised for the purpose, "to make any alteration of or addition to the Journal, although Mr. McLean (the other member of the Committee) demanded it as an act of simple justice and historical truth" while in fact both Mr. Bradley and himself,—(as a report, which he read, drawn up at the time, but which Mr. McLean had requested them not to present to the Society, would show*) although differing from that gentlemen as to

* The following extract from the Report will shew what course would have been recommended by the majority of the Committee:

[&]quot;It is well known that for many years the formation of a Historical Society had been urged in newspapers published in different parts of the State, and at different periods had engaged the attention of gentlemen feeling a warm interest in the subject: but, rather than burden the records with farther details than are already there, the undersigned would respectfully suggest the greater propriety of leaving it to some disinterested enquirer, at some future time, to compile an independent historical sketch of the Society, comprising all further information that might be interesting. Then due credit can be given to all who have thus far been, or who may hereafter be, most active in advancing the interests of the institution. The present members of the Society hardly require to

the necessity of any additions, were willing to submit his views along with their own to the Society, to be acted on as the body might think most advisable; but, although a majority of the Committee, out of courtesy to the Chairman, they waived their right, and consented to his making a report, which the records show that he did, to the effect that the Committee did not recommend any alteration of the minutes, but suggested a reference of the subject to the Committee on Publications. It was for the Society,—not for the Secretaries,—to determine what extraneous matter should go upon its Journals. He made this statement to exonerate himself and those associated with him, from charges which might without examination, prejudice the minds of some gentlemen against the Society.

The time and place for the next meeting coming up for the determination of the Society, Perth Amboy, Jersey City, Morristown, and Freehold were named by different members, and on putting the question, it was

Resolved, That the next meeting of the Society be held at Freehold, in the county of Monmouth, on Thursday, 13th September next.

Mr. W. A. WHITEHEAD then read a Biographical Notice of Thos. Boone, Governor of New Jersey in 1760-'61, from a MS. History of Perth Amboy, which he has in preparation.

Dr. S. H. Pennington referred the members to "Wansey's Excursion through the United States," for some interesting details respecting the condition of Newark in 1794; portions of which he read.

As connected with the bridge and road noticed by Wansey, the Corresponding Secretary exhibited a fac-simile of a map, engraved for the "New York Magazine" in 1791, showing the different routes

be informed who have fostered its interests thus far, and those who come after us will be enabled to discriminate, better than ourselves probably, the value of individual exertions.

Not feeling themselves at liberty to adopt the views of the Reverend Chairman of the Committee, as expressed in a draft of a report prepared by him and submitted for their consideration, the undersigned would merely present these observations with the closing remark, that they freely leave to the Society the adoption of their views, or of those of the Chairman of the Committee, with no desire to influence its decision unfavorably to the latter, should it be thought advisable to extend the record at the present time beyond what is already entered."

W. A. WHITEHEAD, | Majority of the JOS. P. BRADLEY, | Committee."

[&]quot;Burlington, May 7, 1846."

from Newark to Paulus Hook, surveyed under the direction of the Commissioners for erecting bridges over the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers; -and read an extract from Rochefoucault's travels, in which he states that the causeway between the bridges was so narrow, that vehicles could not pass each other, and that persons on horseback even were incommoded.

This statement was pronounced by the President to be incorrect. The road was never so narrow as the traveller represented, for his recollection of its condition was perfect; back to the time when the denseness of the Cedar forest through which it passed (now an open plain) was so great, that the eye could not penetrate but a short distance on either side of the road.

JUDGE DUER said that his recollections of the road confirmed the

statements of the President.

The Society then adjourned to meet at Freehold, on Thursday, September 13th.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

Laid before the Society May 17th, 1849,

FROM COLONEL ROBERT G. JOHNSON.

SALEM, May 12, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,

I present to the Historical Society of New Jersey a Return of Regiments as kept by Franklin Davenport, acting as Brigade Major, P. T., while our troops lay at Haddonsfield and Morristown, in December, 1776, then under the immediate command of General Mifflin.

This little memento of that important period of our history was handed to me by Doctor Fithian, of Woodbury, who was the family

physician of General Davenport.

From my own papers, I send you the printed circulation of the Division and Brigade Orders as they were issued on the disbanding of the troops, by Governor Howell and General Bloomfield, at Trenton, dated 22nd December, 1794,—on their return from what was then called the "Whiskey Insurrection:" attached to those orders are the names of the Officers, but in all probability very few of that number are now among the living.

I also present a few Bills of Continental Money as being worthy of preservation, to show to posterity, (if nothing else,) the difference between the engraving, the paper and the value, of that kind of circulating medium, and our present bank notes. I have also to present a Table setting forth the proceedings of our Courts in Civil and Criminal matters from the month of May, 1840, to this time May 1849—exhibiting the business usually done in the Courts of our County. Not having leisure nor health sufficient to attend to the examination altogether myself, I employed an attorney to assist me, and I think the table may be relied on as pretty accurate. I was highly gratified to read the diary of my old friend William Gould.* Knipp, Gould, Chetwood, and myself made up the mess-we lived happily together. I know not the day when the Society meets in your town. Be so kind as to drop me a line, telling me the day appointed for your meeting, and deo volente, I will be with you. If my health should not permit me to leave home, the papers herein mentioned I will forward to you by some safe conveyance.

Very respectfully yours,

ROBERT G. JOHNSON.

WM. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec., to H. S., N. J.

FROM MR. S. ALOFSEN.

JERSEY CITY, May 15, 1849.

DEAR SIR,

I herewith send you four pieces of copper coin, of the currency of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and current also in the Colony of New Netherlands.

This currency was superseded by the decimal coin of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in 1821, and on account of the remoteness of the date (17th century) of the enclosed, which I now offer for the accept-of the Society, they have become exceedingly rare and are only to be met with in the collections of antiquaries. These were recently

^{*} Journal during the Expedition into Pennsylvania in 1794, published in the Third Volume of the Society's Proceedings.

purchased at Amsterdam, at the sale of the celebrated collection of coins and medals of the late Mr. H. Westhoff, Jr., which brought the sum of 27,000 guilders, (\$10,800.)

Ao 1617.—Duit.—Copper coin of the City of Deventer.

Aº 1663.— do. — 66 " Aº 1694.- do. -

"DA-ETR-TRIA. No date .- do. -

A duit is 1.8th of a stuiver or 1.160th part of a guilder. Four duiters (plural of duit) are equal to one American cent.

Each province of the United Netherlands had a separate emission of coin, current, however, throughout the country.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

S. ALOFSEN.

Ww. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Cor. Sec., of N. J. H. S., Newark.

TO HENRY STEVENS, ESQ., LONDON.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ? NEWARK, May 10th, 1849.

DEAR SIR,

As you have entered upon the task of procuring an Analytical Index to the documents and other historical materials relating to New Jersey, which exist in the State Paper Office and Public Libraries in England, it may facilitate your operations to state, briefly, what information we already have respecting our papers in the former depository, and what portions of our history more particularly require

Although you may be acquainted with their extent, it may provo useful for me to say, here, that by a letter from Mr. Brodhead, addressed to Mr. King, in September, 1847, we learn there are in the "State Paper Office" series of papers, seventeen volumes entitled "New Jersey" containing documents from 1728 to 1782-a hiatus occurring between 1752 and 1762. Other sets of volumes consequently have to be examined, such as the series entitled "Plantation General" containing documents from 1760 to 1784: - another similarly entitled, containing documents from 1766 to 1781:-one entitled "Governors in America," covering the years 1743 to 1763, and another entitled "America," containing documents from 1620 to 1762. Each of these sets consist of several volumes, and it is quite probable something will be found in all of them relating to New

Jersey. We learn also, that in the "Board of Trade" there are thirty-eight volumes containing "New Jersey" papers-eleven of them containing the original documents received from the Provincial Authorities and others, from 1702 to 1775-six containing the despatches from the Board to those Officers-and the remaining twenty-one consisting of the Minutes of the Council and Assembly from 1703 to 1774, and of the Laws, acts, and votes of the Province, during that period. And besides these there are ninety-nine volumes containing papers of dates from 1638 to 1782, under the titles "Plantations General" and "Proprieties," which should be examined for any references to New Jersey they may contain. Regarding the procurement of the Minutes of the Council and Assembly (for it may not be known to you that the State has no records of the Proceedings of the Council, and that the Minutes of the Assembly are imperfect) as a work which the State Legislature should, and probably will, undertake, it is not expected that any of the Funds raised by the Society will be devoted to the examination of the volumes containing these minutes more than may be sufficient to ascertain their completeness. The same remark will apply to the copies of the laws, of which an abstract must eventually be obtained by the State to supply the deficiencies in the Archives, particularly in reference to the private acts, of the effect of which, we have, in most instances, no knowledge other than may be derived from their titles.

The History of New Jersey while under English rule is very clearly divided into two eras—one, extending from the grant of the country to the Duke of York, in 1664, to the surrender of the government to Queen Anne, in 1701, or the *Proprietary Era:* and the other, extending from 1701 to the Revolution, or the *Provincial Era*.

Of the first, or Proprietary Era, we have some papers among the New York Documents procured by Mr. Brodhead, and as it is presumed that such as he copied can readily be identified in the State Paper Office, the time and expenditure required to note them may be saved. All others referring to that period are of great importance from the paucity of such historic memorials on this side of the Atlantic.

With the exception of one or two letters by Philip Carteret, those of Lawrie in "Scot's Model" and one of Governor Hamilton's in my possession, I am not aware that any despatches from the Pro-

prietary Governors to their Constitutents in Great Britain are known to us; and very few either of the letters or orders sent to the Governors have been preserved or are now to be found.

It is not probable that these much coveted documents exist in the State Paper Office, as we have no warrant for believing that on the transfer of the government to the Crown any papers were surrendered by the proprietaries; but it is hoped that many interesting documents of a more general character may be met with, in the shape of reports relating to the soil and waters, and in the correspondence which must have preceded and been connected with the negotiations for the surrender.

Although the Board of Proprietors of East Jersey endeavored to recover sone of their missing papers, yet, from want of promptness, their exertions were not attended with success. The following item may however, even at this late period, lead to some discoveries. A Mrs. Margaret Bowles, under date of February 1st, 1738–9, informed the Board that she had "in her custody the Register Book and Book of Orders for the Governors and Proprietors, but thinks it not advisable to part with them—being other Peoples concerns." But no attention seems to have been paid to the subject until 1767, when a committee was appointed to apply, through the Agent of the Province, to Mr. Humphrey Bowles, or any other person, for the books, but they were never obtained.

How the books got into the possession of the Bowles family is not stated; but they may have been connected with Wm. Dockwra, the Proprietaries Register. Some of his or their descendants might yet be found possessing documents of interest to the State. All,—no matter of what character, connected with this period, will it is hoped be diligently sought and receive your particular attention.—

Of the second, or Provincial Era, we have some items of intelligence among the New York Papers, but they are comparatively of

minor import.

With the exception of two or three intercepted despatches of Governor Franklin's, and a portion of the correspondence of Governor Morris (the dates of which are specified in the accompanying sheet in order to save you the trouble of noting the despatches themselves when met with,) we have no knowledge of the extent or character of the communications which passed between the Governors of the Province and the Departments in Eugland, so that there is scarcely a paper of any consequence (with the exceptions stated)

connected with this period that we should not like to know the contents of.

So far as I can learn, we are almost entirely barren of statistical information respecting the commerce, population, and productions of the Province; so that documents throwing any light upon these topics will deserve your particular attention. And many of the messages of the Governors, communicated by them to the Ministry, not having been entered upon the minutes of the Council and Assembly, it is desirable that they should be noted with some particularity as but few of them were ever published. There must have been, at different times, in the possession of the descendants of those who acted as agents for the Province or the Board of Proprietors, a large quantity of valuable papers. Ferdinand John Paris, particularly, who was a very active and efficient agent of the Proprietors for many years, prior to and during Governor Belcher's administration, must have left papers of great interest. Richard Partridge, Joseph Sherwood, Henry Wilmot and one or two others whose names I do not now recollect. acted as the agents of the Province at different periods, and could their descendants be reached, valuable discoveries might be made.

Whether this is practicable, you alone, on the spot, can determine. I merely draw your attention to the subject, confident that if any thing can be done in the premises, your exertions will not be wanting.

At the instance of the Society I wrote two or three letters to our Consul at Paris, about two years ago, requesting his co-operation in discovering the place of deposit of the papers of Governor Franklin, which are represented to have been taken by his son to Paris, and to have been there as late as 1818, in the possession of his widow. From some unexplained cause I have never received any answer, and if through any correspondent of yours in Paris, the enquiry could be made, an important service would be rendered the society. From the Governor's long administration of the affairs of New Jersey, it is thought many papers of importance would be found among those taken by him from the State, should they yet be in existence.

It has been a matter of deep regret that we have no portraits of the early Proprietors and Fathers of New Jersey, and it would be exceedingly gratifying if you in the progress of your researches could discover likenesses, engraved or otherwise, of Sir George Carteret, Sir John Berkley, or any other of the early Governors or settlers of the province.

I would respectfully ask you to communicate to us from time to

time the progress making in the work entrusted to you, and any farther information you may desire will be furnished with pleasure by Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

W. A. WHITEHEAD,

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY STEVENS, Esq., &c., &c., London.

P. S. I would add that the information the Society wishes the List or Index to embody, will consist of the Place of Deposit—Date—Character—Summary of Contents, and Estimated length, in folios, of each Document examined.

EXTRACT from "The Beauties of Wiltshire, by J. Britton, Esq.,"—communicated by Mr. Wm. B. Kinney, in a letter from Hon. Silas Condit, written in 1832.

"The Manor of Garsden, (about two miles east of Malmesbury,) at an early period belonged to the Abbey of Malmesbury-after the suppression of Monasteries, it was granted by the King, on a peculiar account, to one of his domestics named Moody. This Moody was footman to Henry 8th, who falling from his horse as he was hawking on Hounslow Heath, fell with his head in the mudde; with which being fatt and heavy he had been suffocated to death had he not been timely relieved by his footman Moody; for which service, after the dissolution of the Abbies, he gave him the Manor of Garsden. About the middle of the seventeenth century Garsden became the property of Laurence Washington, Knight, who resided in the Manor House, and who is said to have been an ancestor of the first President of the United States of America. Sir Laurence was succeeded by his son of the same name, who married Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Guise, of Elmore, in Gloucestershire, by whom he had a daughter-Elizabeth, who conveyed the estate of Garsden to her husband, Robert, Lord Ferrers of Chartley. The present Lord of the Manor is Paul Methuen, Esq., of Corsham. There is a large park of about 250 acres surrounded by a wall, and said to have been imparked and walled by Richard Moody already named.

"The church, seated on a gentle eminence in the centre of the village, was probably built when Garsden belonged to the neighboring Monastery. On a monument inside is the following inscription:

"To the memory of Sir Laurence Washington, Knight, lately Chief Register of the Chancery; of known piety, of charity exemplary, a loving husband, a tender father, a bountiful master, a constant reliever of the poor, and to those of this parish a perpetual benefactor: whom it pleased God to take unto his peace from the fury of the ensuing wars: Oxon. May 4, here interred the 24, An. Dom., 1643, ætat. suæ 64.—Where also lieth Dame Ann, his wife, who deceased June 13, and was buried the 16, An. Dom. 1645.—

Hic patrias, cineres curavit filius urna, Condere, qui tumulo nunc jacet ille pius.*

"The church plate belonging to this parish consists of a silver (gallon) flagon, two silver (quart) chalices, and a silver salver. Upon each is engraved, "This was given to Garsden Church by the Lady Pargiter; she was formerly the wife of Sir Laurence Washington, who both lie buried here." The fate of this donation has been rather remarkable, and may therefore be noticed. The plate, for many years had been kept in a box deposited in a lumber closet in the old man-There was an idle tale told in the village, that a ghost had been formerly laid in the box. This story was perhaps as useful as a double lock; since a superstitious dread of disturbing the ghost effectually deterred many from indulging their curiosity by ascertaining the contents of the box. Having understood from an old man, that many years back it was reported that there was some communion plate at the great house, the Clergyman took an opportunity to make enquiry about it. To the surprise of the people of the house, on opening the lid of the box, (for the first time, perhaps, for upwards of a century,) instead of seeing a ghost jump out, this valuable service of tarnished plate presented itself; and it was immediately taken to the vicarage house,"

^{*} Laurence Washington, Esq., is mentioned by Inigo Jones, in his Treatise on Stonehenge, published in 1655, as being at that time proprietor of the site of that ancient monument.

CORRECTIONS.—In the last number of this Periodical, on page 167, the word "imbued" in the letter of Dr. Mulford was inadvertently allowed to stand, as printed, imbibed to the complete destruction of the sense of the sentence.

On the first page of the first volume, "January" is twice printed where February should be.

DONATIONS

ANNOUNCED MAY 17TH, 1849.

From Hon. Dudley S. Gregory—Occultations visible in the United States during the year 1849, computed under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, by John Downs.

Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting Report of Superintendent of Coast Survey, relating to local differences of longitude, &c.

Message of President of U.S., to both houses of Congress, 2d

Session, 31st Congress.

From the New England Historic and Genealogical Society—The January and April Nos. of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, and Antiquarian Journal.

From the New York Historical Society—Collections of N. Y. Historical Society, 2d Series, Vol. 2, Pt. 1st.

Proceedings of N. Y. Historical Society for the Year 1848.

From the Georgia Historical Society—Memoir of the Megatherium and other extinct gigantic quadrupeds of the Coast of Georgia.

A History of Georgia, from it first discovery by Europeans, to the present Constitution in 1798, by Rev. Wm. Bacon Stephens, M. D. Vol. 1.

From Sidney V. Smith, Esq., of Philadelphia—A Fac Simile of a Mapp of Rariton River, Milstone River, South River, Raway River, Bound Brook, Green Brook, and Cedar Brook, with the plantations thereupon. Also, those on Chinkquarora, Wickatonk, the heads of Hop River and Manasquan River; likewise appends some on Hackingsack River, &c., by John Read, in about 1685.

From the Pennsylvania Historical Society-Catalogue of Library of

Pennsylvania Historical Society.

From Mr. Joel Munsell, of Albany—Ninety-one Pamphlets, on various subjects, Biographical, Historical, Genealogical, Religious, Medical, Literary, and Miscellaneous.

The American Literary Magazine, 1st and 2d Vols.

American Journal of Agriculture, 1 Vol.

Sermons by the late James Richards, D. D., with an Essay on his Character by Rev. Dr. Sprague.

Annual Report of Secretary of State (N. York,) on the Criminal

Statistics of N. York.

Annual Report of Inspectors of State Prisons (N. York.)

Report of Births, Marriages and Deaths, for 1847 (N. York.)

Sixth Anual Report of the Managers of the State Lunatic Asylum, 1849, (N. York.)

Report on the Frauds, Peculations, &c., by which the Canal Bank was ruined, (N. York.)

Translations of the Medical Society of the State of New York, Vol. 8th, Parts 1, 2, 3.

From the Author—Dictionary of Americanisms. A Glossary of the words and phrases usually regarded as peculiar to the United States by John Russel Bartlett.

From John Littell of New Providence—Wilson's Edition of the Acts of Council and General Assembly of New Jersey, published 1784.

Allison's Edition of the Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey, published 1776.

A Map of the Valley of the Passaic.

From the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs—A Bibliographical Catalogue of Books, Translation of the Scriptures, and other Publications in the Indian Tongues of the U. States.

From the Smithsonian Institution—Occultations visible in the United States during the year 1849, computed under its direction by John Downs.

From Samuel H. Pennington, M. D., Newark—A History of Standing Armies in England, by John Trenchard, Esq., with an incomparable Preface on Government. London, 1739.

Opinions delivered by Earl of Essex, Lord Burleigh, Sir Walter Raleigh and others, on the alarum of an Invasion from Spain, in 1596.

Report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools in New Jersey, for 1848.

From Professor O. W. Morris, Deaf and Dumb Asylum, N. Y.— Thirteenth Annual Report, &c., of the N. York Institute for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb.

From the Author—New York as it was during the latter part of the last Century, by Wm. Alexander Duer, L. L. D.

From Mr. F. H. Wolcott, of New York—Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, by George Gibbs, 2 Vols. 8vo.

From Mr. Wm. H. Mott, Newark—Laws and Ordinances, ordained and established by the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York, published 1786.

From Mr. Wm. A. Whitehead, Newark—Twenty-four Pamphlets on various subjects—embracing Reports of various Incorporations in N. J., and Public Works in other States.

Also, a Newspaper containing Lecture of G. H. McWhorter, Esq.

on the Period of the Declaration of Independence.

From Mr. Lucias D. Baldwin, Newark—The Historie of the Civill Warres in France, by H. C. Davilla, 2 Vols. folio.

From Mr. Joseph N. Tuttle, Newark-Dr. MacWhorter's Century

Sermon, preached in Newark, 1801.

The First Jubilee of American Independence; and Tribute of

Gratitude to Adams and Jefferson.

Bill of Mortality; being a Register of all the Deaths which have occurred in the Presbyterian and Baptist Congregations of Morristown, N. J., for thirty-eight years past, containing (with few exceptions) the causes of every disease:—Published in Morristown 1806. Bond of Adam Rap to John Vreeland of Bergen Co., with the Revenue Stamp thereon, 1802.

From George Vail, Morris Co.—Porcupine's Gazette, published daily by William Cobbett. From September 29, 1797, to May 14, 1798.

From Rev. Dr. Cogswell, of New Brunswick—History of the United States by Marcius Willson, N. Y., 1846.

Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College, by Rev. Dr. A. Alexander, Princeton, 1845.

A Treatise on Capital Punishments by Rev. Dr. Cogswell, Hartford, 1843.

Hebrew Theocracy by Dr. Cogswell, New Brunswick, 1848.

Everett's Eulogy on Lafayette.

J. Q. Adams's Oration on life and character of Lafayette.

Channing's Letters to Henry Clay on the Annexation of Texas. Mr. Webster's Address at Bunker Hill.

From Mr. David A. Hayes, Newark—Three bound Volumes of the National Intelligencer, from April 5, 1827, to June 20, 1829.

The New England Enquirer, from Nov. 22, 1827, to Nov. 13, 1829.

Also, Five Coins.

From Rev. O. M. Johnson, Orange Co., N. Y.—Outline History of Orange County, New York, by Samuel W. Eager, Newburgh,

1846-7.

From Mr. Abner Campbell, of Newark—A framed engraved Portrait of Elias Boudinot, L. L. D., by A. B. Duraud.

From Wm. M. Babbit, Esq., of Orange—The Universal Almanac for the year 1756, by R. More, Philadelphia.

From Mr. S. Alofsen—Four Dutch Coins, of dates prior to the 18th Century.

From Madame Van Polanen Van Doorninck, of Bridgeport, Conn.

Notices of the life and character of Roger Gerald Van Polanen:
Published 1847.

Works of Rev. Dr. Channing, 6 Vols.

From Mrs. Julia M. Smith—A Map of the Town of Newark: Published 1806.

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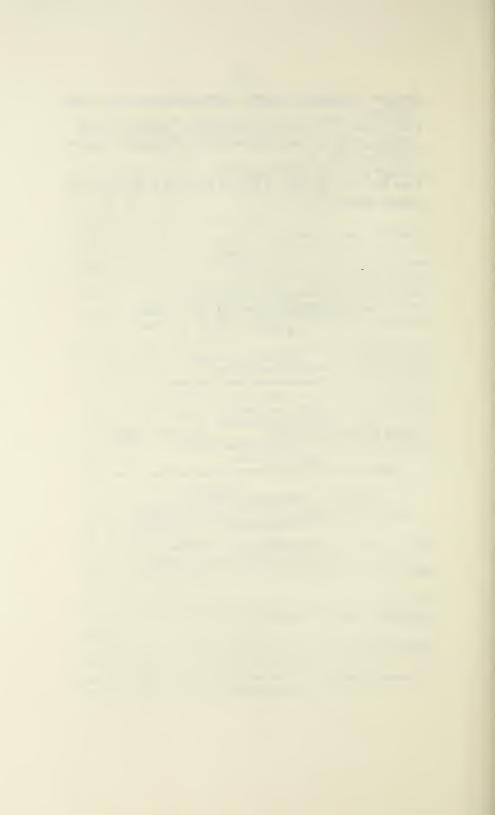
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MEMOIR

OE

LEWIS MORRIS,

GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY,

FROM 1738 TO 1746.

READ BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 6TH, 1845,

BY

REV. ROBT. DAVIDSON, D.D.



MEMOIR.

GOVERNOR LEWIS MORRIS belonged to the prominent family of that name, which for more than a century exerted a controlling sway over the political destinies both of New York and New Jersey. He was the son of Richard Morris; who had been an officer of considerable rank in Cromwell's army, but who, after the restoration, thought fit to secure his personal safety by embracing the profession of Quakerism, and repairing first to the West Indics, and afterwards to the province of New York, then under the government of the Dutch; where he settled on a fine farm of 3000 acres, near Harlem, called Morrisania after his own name, and enjoying manorial privileges. Lewis was born about the year 1670, and in six months had the misfortune to lose his mother and three years after his father. The English government, to whom the province had been surrendered three years before, appointed guardians to the infant orphan, until the arrival of his uncle Lewis, from Barbadoes, who thence forward took charge of him till he reached maturity.†

Lewis was a boy of strong passions and marked character, and his irregularities gave frequent offence to his uncle. Having been so long

† Smith's Hist. New York, p. 125; Smith's Hist. New Jersey, p. 433; Gov. Morris's Letter Book.

^{* [}At the time this memoir was read, Dr. Davidson presented to the Society Gov. Morris's Letter Book, containing copies, in his own handwriting, of his correspondence for five years, from May 10th, 1739, to February 23rd, 1744. The letters are on a variety of topics, and throw not a little light on his public character, and on his personal and family history. Subsequently, the Society received from Lieur. Charles S. Boggs. U. S. N., another Book of a later date, so that the Governor's correspondence, or rather his part in it, for nearly the whole time he discharged the duties of the office, is preserved.]

freed from parental control, he launched with ardor into the wild ex-

travagances of youth.

One of his practical jokes was played off on his preceptor, Hugh Coppothwaite, a zealous Quaker. The mischievous pupil, imposing on the simplicity of his tutor, hid himself on one occasion in a tree, and calling to him, ordered him to preach the gospel among the Mohawk Indians. The credulous enthusiast took it for a miraculous call from heaven, and was actually on the point of setting out on the mission, when the cheat was discovered. Whether it was this or some other prank that aroused the inexorable ire of his uncle does not appear; certain it is, that through fear of his resentment, he quitted his roof, and resolved to throw himself on his own resources. He first strolled to Virginia, and thence to Jamaica in the West Indies. where he attempted to earn his support by setting up for a scrivener. After some years spent in this vagabond life, and having sown his wild oats, he returned home; was reconciled to his uncle; and devoted himself with exemplary attention to business. His uncle, with a view to cure him of his erratic propensities, succeeded in bringing about his marriage with a daughter of Mr. Graham, a woman of good sense and gentle manners, who proved, for fifty years, an amiable and agreeable consort, and to whom he evinced a steady and sincere attachment.*

Soon after this event the uncle died, and in a week afterwards his widow, and Lewis came into possession of all his property as sole and only heir, not however without some trouble. The will was found to contain several material interlineations and erasures, all in favor of the interests of the widow, who had had the will in her possession, which could not be satisfactorily explained; and Lewis suspected a plot to deprive him of the inheritance, which was, as he thought, providentially defeated.†

Col. Morris now became as much distinguished for his activity and application, as he had before been for his irregularities. In consequence of his commanding legal attainments and consummate tact and intrigue, he rose rapidly, and filled successively several of the highest offices in the country. His career was not unmarked by the usual vicissitudes of triumphs and reverses which characterize political

life.

The greater part of his life was spent in New Jersey. In 1683, under Deputy Governor Lawrie, there were considerable disturbances

^{*} Smith's New York, pages 125, 126.

[†] See the Preamble to his own will.—Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 433.

in the province, especially about Middletown and Woodbridge, relating to town affairs, in one of which Morris was captured by the opposite party and imprisoned in a log house, but his friends pried up the logs sufficiently high to allow his escape.* He afterwards became one of the Council, and in 1692, a Judge of the Supreme Court. Upon the surrender of the proprietary Government to Queen Anne, such was his popularity that he was nominated to be Governor of the Colony, but the appointment was finally made in favor of Lord Cornbury, the Queen's cousin.†

In 1707, Lord Cornbury, having failed to control the elections as usual in his favor, the Assembly, of which Morris was a member, entered into an investigation of his arbitrary conduct, and sent a petition to the Queen, and a remonstrance to his Lordship. In this Assembly Morris distinguished himself as an active champion for privilege, and had a large share in all the proceedings. Cornbury was highly displeased, and artfully induced some of his creatures to transmit a counter memorial to the Queen, in which Lewis Morris, and Samuel Jennings, the Speaker, were especially singled out as the authors of all the confusion by their turbulent, factious, uneasy, and disloyal principles. They were stigmatized as men notoriously known to be uneasy under all government, never consistent with themselves, to whom all the factions and confusions in the government of New York and Pennsylvania were wholly owing, and who hesitated not to wrest the law to their own wicked purposes. And her Majesty was craved to discountenance the wicked designing men, and show some dislike of the Assembly's proceedings. Lord Cornbury himself, in his answer to the Assembly's remonstrance, characterized Jennings and Morris as men known neither to have good principles nor good morals, and capable of any thing but good.

The Assembly subsequently took notice of the address to her Majesty, and denounced it as a false and scandalous misrepresentation; and Major Sandford, a member, having been one of the signers, and refusing to acknowledge himself accountable to any one but the Queen, was expelled the house. They also prepared and sent an address to the Queen, in which besides accusing Cornbury of falsehood and mal-practice, they took occasion explicitly to vindicate the two calumniated members.

^{*} Smith's New Jersey, p. 175. [But see East Jersey, under the Proprietors, p. 100-note.]

[†] Smith's New York, p. 126. ‡ Smith's New Jersey, p. 396.

Of all the Assembly in the New York Colony, Col. Morris was the most influential in public affairs. He was employed to draw up the complaint of the Assembly to the Queen, against Cornbury, and appointed the bearer of it to London, on which occasion he probably made the acquaintance of Sir Charles Wager, and other political friends.

Combury was a frivolous as well as a cruel nobleman, and was in the habit of dressing himself in woman's apparel and patrolling the fort in which he resided; so that he drew on himself not only the indignation but contempt of the people. He was abhorred and execrated by them, and the Queen at last was obliged to supersede him; on which he was immediatedly imprisoned by his creditors, and held incarcerated till the death of his father, when he became Earl of Clarendon, and returned to end his dishonorable days in England.

Morris was for several years Chief Justice of New York and New Jersey, as well as a member of the Assembly, and wherever he was, always active and foremost. He was appointed Second Councillor for New Jersey, named in Lord Cornbury's instructions; was suspended hy him in 1704; restored by the Queen, and suspended a second time in the same year; he was a member of the Assembly in 1707; and in the following year reappointed a member of the Council, suspended again by Lieutenant Governor Ingoldsby the year after; and again appointed in 1710.* From that time he continued to hold the office till 1738, when he was elevated to a higher dignity. In the interim however, the government had devolved upon him for a year, from the death of Col. Montgomery to the arrival of Covernor Cosby. Of Cosby's troublous administration which lasted four years, till 1736, he says that Mrs. Cosby was the sole director of his measures, and had the entire management of that weak madman, her husband.

The colonies of New York and New Jersey had hitherto been under the same government, and New Jersey often complained of being treated with unmerited neglect, as if a mere appendage or dependency of the more populous and powerful colony. In the summer of 1738, these greviences were finally remedied, a separation being granted, and each province being placed under its own executive. Mr. Morris, who had been one of the chief agents in bringing about this event, was repaid for his exertions by receiving the first commission as Governor of New Jersey in severalty.

He was now about the 68th year of his age, active and hale,

^{*} Smith's New Jersey, p. 429.

although sensible of the growing infirmities incident to his time of life. In a letter written to his friend Sir Charles Wager, October 12th, 1739, when he was within a few days of entering his sixty-ninth year, he acknowledges some decay of his memory as well as the loss of his teeth. He adds, "we have a man in New York, one Scarlock, nigh fourscore, who for nigh 15 years past, has lived solely upon milk-punch made with rum, without eating or drinking anything else; and seems as hearty, well, and strong as a man of fitty. I have known another instance of the same kind; but neither of these men had much business with thinking, and very much unconcerned whether the Emperor got Constantinople, or the Turks Vienna; which

might not a little contribute to their length of days."

Whatever this bustling old gentlemen may have thought of the virtues of milk-punch, he at least seems to have entertained a more favorable opinion of that beverage which has been styled "the milk of old men;" for we find him once ordering of Mr Johnstone, of Amboy, two pipes of old wine, in regard to which he afterwards says, when discussing the Spanish expedition, "Your account of the wine is not a little refreshing, and I am in hopes when this puzzling affair is over, we may take a chirruping glass together and discuss all the clouds and mists about it." But not only wine was a beverage in esteem, we find in one of his letters a eulogy on the medicinal virtues of "flip," which he took on the recommendation of Governor Clinton, and found beneficial in the removal of some of his complaints. And in several other places he alludes to some beer which his daughter sent him from England. At one time a hogshead which she had shipped never reached him. At another, he laments pathetically that a quantity of bottled beer sent injudiciously by way of New York, there landed, carted up the Broadway, then down again to the water side, then put on board a boat to Brunswick, and then carted again thirty miles to Trenton; nine dozen bottles had been broken.

The new Governor entered on his office with the most flattering auspices, and his accession was hailed with the liveliest pleasure. The Assembly in their answer to his address heaped flattery upon him, and indulged the most glowing anticipations, from his character tor learning, ability, skill, and patriotism. But this promising appearance was soon overcast, and the Executive, like his neighboring brethren in those times, found his exalted seat not devoid of thorns. Active, interprizing, restless, fond of influence, tenacious of power, the testy old Governor soon involved himself in disputations with the

Assembly, and became at last almost as obnoxious and unpopular as he had been the reverse. Formerly he had been the champion of the claims of the people against their rulers, but now that the tables were turned, and he was himself in power, he became fully awake to the duty of maintaining the authority and prerogatives of his station undiminished. Mr. Gordon describes him as captious, self-willed, opinionated, and obstinate; freely interposing his veto; harrassing the Assembly by causeless adjournments and prorogations, or not proroguing them at all till he saw fit; on one occasion actually forbidding the Treasurer to give them their pay. Perhaps this picture is overcharged, although it is sustained by Smith.*

In the Governor's letters to the Board of Trade, to Sir Charles Wager and others, we have the other side of the question, and his own vindication, sometimes at considerable length. As to withholding the Assembly-men's wages, he assured his "good friend, Smith," (in a long and elaborate letter of nine foolscap pages,) that he was misrepresented. It was an act of the Council, in which he concurred at the time; but the very next day, doubting its legality, he summoned another meeting of the Council, (then consisting of eight members,) and laid before them his objections. They were not however convinced of its illegality, although by a majority of one he carried his point, and the order was countermanded. So that he takes credit to himself and his perseverence, that the Assembly men received their pay at last.

We find in these letters abundant evidence of that jealous strife which prevailed between the Governors and the Legislators of the colonies, and waxed warmer and warmer till the Revolution. From the very first page to the very last we meet the language of complaint on this score. The Governor speaks to his superiors in England in no measured terms of the Assemblies, and the opposition he encountered. He believed that there was a deep laid and settled scheme to increase the influence of the popular branch of the government by rendering the executive dependant for support on the popular will; in short, to carry out the favorite method of the English Commons, and force their Rulers into their measures by cutting off the supplies. In this contest they found their match, and the testy representation of Majesty, in Jersey, was neither to be coaxed, forbid, intimidated, or starved, into any surrender or abatement of the prerogative. The long and bitter strife which he waged in order to control, in con-

^{*} Gordon's New Jersey, pages 89, 99; Smith's New Jersey, pages 429, 439.

nection with his Council, the disbursement of the funds, collected for the support of the government, is to be ascribed to this motive, and not to avarice, for he was in possession of a large estate. The salary voted to him was £1000 per annum for three years, with £60 in addition for his house-rent, and £500 as an acknowledgement for his efficient services in bringing about the separation. But he complained that this amount was limited to three years, and apprehended, with justice, as events proved, that after the expiration of three years, he should find himself entrapped and dependent. Nor was he much mistaken. In a letter dated January 22d, 1744, he says "I shall meet, if my health permits, a new Assembly this spring; but if they continue the resolutions of the past-not to support the Government unless their terms are complied with of making £40,000 current in bills of credit,-the government is like to continue without support, and I must be forced to remove to Trenton, and live as well as I can, unless the ministry interpose to reduce them to their duty."

He describes the people to the Board of Trade as "resolutely obstinate and not susceptible of reason. The representatives of New Jersie being like those of other collonies in our neighbourhood, some of them Illiterate, or next door to it; the greater part very ignorant and very obstinate, and the few of them that are otherwise very loth to oppose the common current; and though I have as large a share of their Good opinion as my neighbours, if not a greater, yet all Governours are suspected of designing upon their liberties; and if any of their members think it reasonable to make such a provision for the officers of the government as to put them above contempt. he is immediately stil'd a Governour's man, and as such, if possible, to be kept out of an assembly, and one less complying to be chosen; it being a maxim in the Politicks of most of the Northern Collonies that such men are only fit to be chosen representatives as will most strenuously oppose their governours; and little or no effectual notice having been taken of the conduct of American Assemblies in England, (his Majestie and his Ministers being engaged in matters of greater moment,) they have been so successful as to cramp all the officers of the government, and make their sallaries precarious and depending upon their votes; by which they have sometimes in New York increas'd or diminish'd them as their behaviour has been more or less agreeable to them."

If the Governor's spicy descriptions may be relied on, the assemblies of those days were as liable to the charge of indecorum as some unhappily that might be mentioned since. He speaks of them in one

place as divided into violent factions, not preserving the rules of common decency, descending to downright scolding, giving the lie, threating to spit in the face, and near getting together by the ears; and only united when a common stand was to be made against the common enemy, the government.

The House of Representatives at this time consisted of twenty-four delegates; twelve from the Eastern, and twelve from the Western divisions. They met alternately at Perth Amboy and Burlington; a very inconvenient arrangement as well as expensive, for two separate Secretary's offices were rendered necessary; but they could not agree on any other place of meeting. The Governor styled them both inconsiderable places and likely to remain so; although he

speaks magniloquently of our "capital city of Amboy."

In speaking of the commerce of the province he writes to the Lords of Trade "The foreign trade of New Jersy is not considerable. I think they have three brigantines and about four or five sloops, that trade to Madeira and the West Indies. Most if not all their European commodities are supplied from New York and Pennsylvania, in exchange for wheat, flour, and timber; without which last it is said that Pennsylvania cannot build a ship, or even a tolerable house, nor ship off a hogshead, or a pipe stave; and New York also has a great supply of timber from this province, and without our wheat and flour neither of them can carry on the trade they do, so that what paper we have, for the most part, circulates among ourselves; and having no specie but those bills, what we have is usually not sufficient for our use, and £40,000 or a greater sum would not be too much for the use of the province, if made for proper ends and motives to induce the government to grant it, and put under proper regulations to keep up its credit; which by the care taken since my coming to the government is £12 per cent. better than that of New York, and rising, and that of New York vastly superior to that of New England, and £300 of which I am told purchase £100 of New York money.

"But whatever the real or pretended necessities of this colony are, no bills of that kind shall be passed without a clause suspending their being in force till his Majesty shall be pleased to approve of them."

When war was declared against Spain in 1739, to protect the log-wood trade at Campeachy, and Admiral Vernon was dispatched against the Spanish West Indies, Governor Morris bestirred himself with his usual energy, and three companies, consisting of 300 men, were raised and sent off in transports. He could as easily have raised five companies, had a suitable number of blank commissions been

transmitted. The poor Governor had his trials here also. One-third of the Western division being composed of Quakers, he found it difficult to raise any troops in that quarter, or through their influence to obtain the passage of a law against mutiny and desertion. were even averse to raise money to meet the expenses of the war, although Mr. Gordon says, they showed their usual alacity and promptly passed the necessary bills. (Hist. p. 99.) But from Gov. Morris's statement, it appears that the Assembly at first wished to adjourn, in order to ascertain the state of feeling in New York and Pennsylvania, and it was only in consequence of his firm refusal, that they voted £2000 for the expenses of transportation; and that sum was not raised especially for the purpose, but was out of funds in the Treasury for the support of Government. Besides the Quakers and their conscientious scruples against war, and the Assembly who affronted him by appointing managers to superintend the embarkation. he had to deal with some refractory Captains, and was compelled to use menacing language towards them. He had great difficulties also to encounter, in cashing the bills of credit which were at his disposal for paying the troops.

He seems to have had no love for the Quakers, whom he censures heavily on all occasions, for their obstinacy and pretended conscientiousness, and whose influence was exerted to defeat all his endeavours to organize an effective military establishment. He himself was of the Church of England, as we learn from his letter to the Bishop of London, in 1741. This letter was written to recommend, for his Lordship's nomination to the only established Church in Philadelphia. then vacant, Mr. Richard Peters, a clergymen not at all tainted with the "deliriums" and "enthusiastic notions" of Whitefield, which had, it appears, occasioned no small distraction there and elsewere. In justice to the Governor, however, it must be stated that this is the only instance in which his ecclesiastical preferences are discoverable. and it is probable that his great animosity to the Quakers arose from his fiery and pugnacious spirit being absolutely unable to comprehend their pacific principles, which, as he more than once hinted to the superior powers, totally disqualified them "to be entrusted with Government, or to be members of the Legislature any where." With this exception, he does ample justice to their general characters as a laborious, honest, and industrious people.

The poor old Governor was not only worried by vexatious squabbles with the Assembly, and with militia captains, and captains of the Royal Navy who threatened to fire upon his barge because he hoisted the Union Jack, which they conceived an invasion of the Admiralty laws,—to say nothing of other annoyances,—his last days were disturbed by the reported misconduct of one of his children in England. And while a father's heart refused to believe the charges made, his clear judgment could not be blind to indiscretions, which he felt himself called on plainly and sharply to rebuke.

At length, on the 21st of May, 1746, exhausted nature gave way, and his long and active life was brought to a close, at the quiet farm of Kingsbury, which he rented near Trenton, in the 77th year of his

age.

Eight years was he placed at the helm of state, which notwithstanding his advanced age and increasing illness, he evinced no disposition to resign. Pride, ambition, and the inveterate habit of public life, probably rendered his sensibilities obtuse, and tempted him, like many other infatuated politicians, to pay the price of peace, without murmurring, for the shadow of power. In him the Crown found a faithful servant, and the royal prerogative a sturdy champion.

He desired to be buried at Morrisania, in a plain coffin of black walnut, cedar, or mahogany, without covering or lining, either of cloth, linen, woollen, or silk. He forbade rings or scarfs to be given at the funeral, or any person to be paid for preaching a funeral sermon. If any one, churchman or dissenter, in priest's orders or ont of them, should be inclined to say any thing on that occasion, he might do so, if the executors interposed no objection. "I would not," he adds, "have any mourning worn for me, by any of my descendants; for I shall die in a good old age, and when the Livine Providence calls me home: I die when I should die, and no relative of mine ought to mourn because I do so; but may mourn to pay the shopkeeper for his goods, should they comply with (what I think) the common folly of such an expense . . . What the state of the dead is, I know not; but believe it to be such as is most suitable for them, and that their condition and state of existence after death will be such as will fully show the wisdom, justice, and goodness of their great Creator to them." *

Governor Morris had twelve children, four of whom were sons, and eight daughters. Of the sons, two, Lewis and Robert Hunter, were in public life. Robert Hunter Morris was one of the Council, and for twenty years Chief Justice of New Jersey. He was named after Governor Hunter, of whom his father had been a confidential friend, and who had himself been on terms of intimacy with Swift,

^{*} Smith's New Jersey, pp. 430. 432.

Addison, and other wits of the time. Lewis Morris was made Judge of Vice-Admiralty, and had eight children, of whom the celebrated Gouverneur Morris was one. His pertrait has been recently presented to the New York Historical Society, by a descendant,* and is now placed in their gallery.

The writer of this memoir has only to add in conclusion, that by the aid of the Governor's letter book he has been enabled to detect several discrepancies in the printed histories, which it is diffiult to reconcile. Thus in regard to Governor Morris's age; it appears from his letter to Sir Charles Wager, that he must have been born about the year 1670, but Samuel Smith, in his history of New Jersey, represents him as a political partizan in 1683, when he would have been only thirteen years of age;† and William Smith, in his history of New York, represents him as a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1692, when he would have been only twenty-two years old. There must be some error in these dates.

There is a similar discrepancy in regard to his parentage. Mr. Gordon states that Richard Morris, the ci-divant officer in Cromwell's army, was the Governor's father; while William Smith says he was his uncle. The will of the uncle, whose ward and heir he was, bore date, Feb. 12th, 1690, as the Governor himself informs us, so that this uncle could not have been Richard, if he died, as Mr. Gordon states, in 1673. It must then have been Lewis, who came from Barbadoes. The writer of this memoir has adopted the statement which makes Richard the father, and Lewis the guardian uncle.

In regard to public affairs also, the letter-book contains at length the Governor's vindication of himself, and the position he felt himself compelled to take in opposition to the Assembly; a careful examination of which might tend to exonerate his memory from some of that sweeping censure which the historians have cast upon it. He has been accused by them of being consumed by a love of power, which led him to humor or oppose the popular will, just as he saw would best secure his object; in short he has been held up to view as a mere politician, devoid of principle. Whimsical, restless, and impatient of control, he may to some extent have been; but that he was an able statesman and animated by patriotic views in advancing the interests of the province may also be admitted without detriment to truth. All parties unite in testifying to his superiority to avarice, and to his excellent character in his domestic relations.

^{*} Mrs. James Parker, of Perth Amboy.

[†] See Note on page 23.

It is refreshing to turn from the bustle and turmoil of public life to his rural retreat at Kingsbury, and listen to his description of the pleasures of the country. Writing to a daughter in 1743, who had retired to a country residence in England, he says, "You have made a choice that I much approve of; the country in my opinion being much preferable to that noisy, stinking, and very expensive town London; and I hope your farming will not only prove a delightfull and healthy amusement, but of benefit to you, at least will not be a loss. This, much depends, not only upon having some skill in affaires of that nature yourselfe, but in having good and faithfull servants (wh. are rare to be met with so nigh London) and Employing few of them. I am in some sort in your condition, being in a place of Collo. Thomas's, about halfe a mile from Trenton, for weh I give £60 per annum. It is a very healthy and a pleasant place. We have all had our healths very well since our being here; as for your mother's illness, that would have happened any where * * * *. Our house is good. and not one chimney in it smokes; and we live much more private here than at Morrisania. We have two cows which afford us milk, cream, and butter during the summer, and I intend to get two more and Try what I can do for the winter. I have not got into plowing and sowing, having but little ground, and that but ordinary, and much out of order, but shall try a little at it when I have got it into something better fence, which I am doing. Your mother amuses herself with a brood of turkeys, fowles and ducks, which she has about her, and now aud then some one of her children comes to see her." And so he continues, in a similar strain, detailing the family history, and unbending from the cares of state. No one would ever suppose from this letter, that it was written by a heartless politician.

There is not a word about politics from beginning to end. Some one has said, "No one ever loved gardening whom it did not either find virtuous, or make so;" and with this observation we take our leave of the first Governor of the Province of New Jersey; heartily hoping that whatever other troubles the members of this Society may be subjected to, they may every one enjoy equal freedom with his Excellency, from those two acknowledged and intolerable annovances, a scolding wife and a smoky chimney.

CENSUS OF NORTHAMPTON, BURLINGTON COUNTY,

1709.

Extracted from the Minutes of the Town Meeting, and presented by Mr. John Rodgers, of Burlington.

Na	me.	Age.	N	ame.	Age.
William,)	57	Thomas Stok	tes,	66
Ann,	İ	60			
Thomas		23	John,	} Smallwood.	
Susannah,	Budd,	18	Mary,	Siliali wood.	
John		16	·		
Ann,		15	John,)	33
James.	j	14	Elizabeth,		33
Negro Mo	ntague.		John,		9
	J		Sarah,	Powell,	8
William, jun'r,)	29	Rebecah,		6
Elizabeth,	1	26	Elizabeth,	1	4
Mary,	Budd,	4	Isaac,	J	2
Susannah,	}	2			
William A	lcote,	15	Edward,)	46
Elizabeth		9	Hannah,		33
			Joseph,		14
George,)	65	Zerubabel,	Gaskill,	11
Martha,	İ	45	Provided,	(daskiii,	9
George,	Dagger	14	Samuel,		6
Mary,	Deacan,	12	Hannah,		4
Martha,		8	Broard,	J	3
John,)	7			
	(Primus,	25	Daniel Light	,	23
Negroes,	Soelis,	24			
J .	(Will,	1	John,	Jennings,	37
	•		Martha,	S commiss,	35
John,)	52			
Frances,		50	Richard,	Brown,	26
John,		24	Mary,) '	28
James,		23	John Plumle	у,	6
Thomas,	Antrim,	19			
Ann,		17	Josiah,)	30
Isaac,	twins,	14	Rebecah,	Gaskill,	23
Elizabeth,	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \		Mary,	(3
Mary,	J	16	Jacob,	J	1
	5				

Na	ıme.	Age.	Name.	Age.
Richard,)		George,	61
Elizabeth,		43	Mary,	48
Thomas,	Eayre,	11	Joseph,	18
Richard,		9	Mary, Elkinton	15
Marget,	}	13	Elizabeth,	' 13
Richard,	ĺn,	14	George,	11
Elizabeth,	Brock,	12	Joshua,	9
1112abctii,	,		Thomas.	5
		00		
James,		39	John,	54
Elizabeth,	Burcham,	28	Elizabeth,	44
Ann,)	2	Samuel,	19
			Mary, Woolma	
T2	_	74	Ann.	15
Francis,	}	44	Hannah,	6
Mary,		17		2
John,	Collings,		Hesther,	2
Francis,		15	T G 11 11 14	17
Mary,		11	Isaac Satherthwait,	1.4
Samuel,	J	9	T.	40
			John,	48
Joseph,)	38	Hope,	44
Hannah,	Parker,	28	Daniel,	19
nannan,)	20	Jane, Mary,	17
			Mary,	
William,)	37	James, Wills,	14
Sarah,		31	Elizabeth,	11
Jacob,	fr .	10	Ann,	11
Marget,	Haines,	8	Sarah,	8
Nathan,		6	John,	6
Samuel,		4	Rebekah,	3
•	(John,	50	Jenney,	33
Negroes,	Nathaniel,	2	Negroes, Sambo,	11
	(Traditation,	~	,	
			Daniel,	50
Abraham,)	37	Mary,	40
Leah,		41	Elizabeth,	20
Abraham,		15	Daniel,	17
Alice,	Brown,	13	James, }	_ 15
John,		11	Joseph,	11
Rachel,		7	Ann,	9
Zebulon,	j	4		7
_ • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	(Andrew,	30	Margret,	5
Indians,	Jenney,	28	Hannah,	3
Indians,	Will,	2	T .	16
	(,		Levi,	14
			Martha, Shinn,	
John Mouter,		62	Mary,	12

	Name.	Age.		Name.	Age.
Joshua,	Humphries,	44	Thomas,)	40
Esther,) Trumpinios,	47	Marget,		25
			William,	Garwood,	14
		10	Sarah,		7
William Ba		18	Thomas,		$\frac{2}{3}$
Benjamin V		16	Elizabeth,	J	ð
Joseph Roc		15 19	Josiah.		52
Hannah Pie Theophila		7	Elizabeth,		36
1 neophna	Jipps,	'	Josiah,		11
			James,	Southwick,	9
Henry,	2	45	Ruth,	'n	14
Elizabeth,		39	Maham,	j	1
John.		18	,		
Elizabeth,		13	William,)	45
Joseph,	Burr,	15	Damoras,	Parker,	22
Mary,		18	William,	} rarker,	3
Sarah,		8	Elizabeth,)	2
Rebekah,		6			
Martha,	j	4	Thomas,	Bryan,	21
Maria,	a negro,	17	Susannah,	S Dijan,	20
			John,	j	50
James,)	38	Martha,		41 19
Sarah,	Smith,	24	John,		16
George,		2 4	Rebecah, Hestha,	Hylliar,	14
Jane,)	4	Joseph,	inymai,	11
			Elizabeth,		8
William,	,	33	Jane,		6
Ann,		24	Edward,		3
Jennings,	Stevenson,	8	,		_
Elizabeth,		5	Joshua,)	35
,	(Francisco,	35	Ann,		40
Indian		30	Joseph,	Richardson,	15
	Sisco,	2	Edward,		12
	· ·		Mary,	J	8
Thomas,)	33	Joseph Dev	onish,	29
Elizabeth,		46	т 1		90
Daniel,		15	Jacob,		38 37
Ann,	Haines,	12	Ann,	Lamb	37 8
Elizabeth,		10	Mary,	Lamb,	5
Thomas,		8 5	Ann, Jacob,		2
Deborah, Margret,		3	Jacob, John Haze	7	17
margret,	,	0	John Haze	Y ,	11

T 1:-	Name.	Age. 50	Samuel,	Name.	Age. 17
Lydia, Rachell,		19	Mary,	Morris,	10
Isaac,	} Hornor,	14	,,,	,	
Jacob,	}	14	Restores,)	55
Bartholome	ew,	9	Hannah,		55
		00	Elizabeth,	T :	18 16
John,)	33	James,	Lippincott,	21
Ann,		32	Jacob, Rachel,		14
John,	Enough	$\begin{bmatrix} 7 \\ 6 \end{bmatrix}$	Freedom,		15
Thomas,	French,	5	rieedom,	,	10
Charles, Rachell,		4	Daniel Mist	er.	20
Anne,		$\frac{1}{2}$	2011101 111101	,	
mine,	,		Thomas,)	46
Thomas,)	44	Sarah,		40
Ann,	i	30	Jane,		14
Samuel,		15	Martha,		13
Margett,		13	Frances,	Atkinson,	11 10
Sarah,	Woolston,	10	John,		8
Elizabeth,		6	Thomas,		6
Thomas,		$\frac{4}{3}$	Mary, Christian,		3
William,		1	Christian,	,	
Hannah,)		William Sh	attoch.	84
Sarah,	2	38		,	
Ann,		14	Sarah Park	er,	74
Sarah,		11		·	
John,	Bennett,	7	John,)	47
Margret,		5	John,		23
Mary,		3	Samuel,		22 12
Elizabeth,	J	1	Michaell,		8
			Joshua,		7
Joseph,)	38	Joseph, Eanos,	Bishop,	19
Hannah,	Endicot-,	25	Mary,	Bishop,	17
John,)	2	Ruth,		16
			Betty,		14
Nathaniel	.)	42	Susannah,		13
Grace,	Crips,	35	Margrett,		9
John,)	5	Sarah,)	5
	To	otal Nu	mber, 281.		

LIST OF

JUDGES, CLERKS, SHERIFFS, SURROGATES, & ATTORNIES OF SALEM COUNTY,

Prepared by Col. Robt. G. Johnson, First Vice-President of the Society.

THE RECORDS of the proceedings of the town of Salem, from the time the Swedes occupied the place, until John Fenwicke came and took possession as Chief Proprietor, are all lost: and the records during his ownership, until ten years after his death, are all that are left to mark the doings of the inhabitants, except an old mutilated book in which was kept, although very inaccurately, a part of the subsequent proceedings of the people of the town.

- † Indicates those officers who lived and died in the county.
- † Indicates those who after living in the county removed therefrom.
- * Indicates those who now (January, 1849,) reside in the county.

† Samuel Hedge, sen'r, (son-in-law of John Fenwicke,)	was
Clerk of the County and Recorder of Deeds until	1692
‡ Benjamin Acton, Clerk and Recorder,	1693
‡ John Jeffery, Bailiff,	1693-4-5
‡ Rodger Milton, Bailiff,	1697
‡ Samuel Hedge, jun'r, Recorder,	1698
‡ John Dickson, Bailiff,	1698-9
‡ John Scoles, Clerk and Recorder, 1699	1700-1-2
‡ Rodger Milton, Bailiff,	1701-2
‡ Samuel Hedge, Clerk and Recorder,	1702
‡ James Ridley, Clerk and Recorder,	1701-2-3

The Court Records of the County of Salem, from the settlement of the Swedes, and until the year 1806, are all missing, as before stated. The first regular Court Record begins, when the Court was opened, September 17th, 1706.

CLERKS.	Nathaniel Brady. Isaac Sharp, Deputy.	As above.		' As above.	As above.	The number of actions as recorded by Brady from 1706 to 1712, was 416.
SHERIFFS.		William Griffin.		‡ George Trenchard.	As above.	David Rumsey.
ATTORNIES.		Samuel Alexander.	David Straughn; William Britton, Commissioned by Col. Rich. In- goldsby, Att'y Gen'l for E. and W. Jersey; Alexander Griffiths.	Thomas Clark; Thomas Mackna- # George Trenchard. As above.	‡ Gregory Empson.	William Griffith; ‡ William Empson.
JUDGES.	Thos. Killingworth. Obediah Holme.	As above.	As above.	Wm. Hall; Isaac Sharp; W.Dare; Hugh Middleton.	Jeremiah Basse; Saml. Lewis; Alex. Grant.	Grant; Hugh Middleton; Rich'd Johnson.
DATE.	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711

1712	1712 As above.	Gregory Empson; Jeremiah Basse.	As above.	John Rolph.
1713-14	1713-14 As above.	Basse; Empson; Griffith.	As above.	As above.
1715	Johnson; Grant; Middleton; Rum- sey.	Thos. Gordon, Att'y Gen'l; Henry Vernon; Mr. — Maw; Gregory Empson; Jeremiah Basse.	June—Wm. Griffith. Sept.—John Rolph.	Thomas Hill.
1716	As above,	As above.	James Skerron.	Thomas Hill, Clerk and Surrogate.
7171	As above.	Basse; Maw; Alex. Griffith; Samuel Alexander to prosecute the prisoners charged with the murder of James Skerron the sheriff.	Robert Johnson.	Thomas Hill.
1718	As above.	As above, with John Kinsey.	As above.	As above-
1719	As above.	As above, Basse, Att'y Gen'l.	As above.	As above.
1720-21	Grant; Mason; Hews; Maskell; Rolph.	Peter Evans.	William Griffin.	‡ Francis Gandonett.
1722	As above.	Basse; Evans.	As above.	As above.
1723	John Rolph; Joseph Gregory.	Edward R. Price; David Mackbride; James Gould; Peter Evans.	George Trenchard.	As above.

			40		
CLERKS.	Gandonett.	Rob't Johnson,Cl'k.	Sam'l Hedge; John Jones, Dep'y Cl'k † Dan'l Mestaver.	F. Gandonett, appointed to act as Problomotary and Clerk in the room of S. Hedge, deceased.	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Dan'l Mestayer, } De-\\ puty. \end{array}\right.$
SHERIFFS.	is made in the book. Trenchard.	Trenchard.	Joseph Gregory.		
ATTORNIES.	From this time 1723 to August 1727, no record is made in the book. Rolph; Price; Evans; Wm. Dare; Gould; Trenchard. Smith; Macbride. cock.	Edward Pearce; Price; Mackbride; † Francis Gandonett, appointed by his Ex. John Montgomery to prosecute for the Crown.	Gandonett; Price; Pearce; Gould.	Att'ys as Above.	Price; Pearce; Gould; ¡John Jones.
JUDGES.	Gregory; Rolph; Jonath'n Fithian; Samuel Smith; Wm. Hancock.	Rolph; Fithian.	As Above.	Rolph; Smith; John Pledger.	Rolph; Fithian; Gillman.
DATE.	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731

Jonathan Fithian; As Above. Josiah Fithian. Fithian; Benjamin Jones; Gandonet	As Above. Jones; Gandonet	As Above. Jones; Gandonett; Pearce; Gould;	Trenchard.	F. Gandonett appointed until the Governor's pleasure be known. Mestayer, Deputy.
		Fries. Jones; John Price; Gould; Gando- nett; Pearce.	Trenchard.	Wm. Cosby; D. Mestayer, Deputy.
Benj'n Acton. Gould; Jones; Price; Pearce; Joseph Worrell, Att'y Gen'l; ‡Daniel Mestayer.	Gould; Jones; Pr seph Worrell, Att Mestayer.	ice; Pearce; Jo. ?y Gen'l; ‡Daniel	John Huut,	Wm. Cosby, Cll.
Acton. Jones; Pearce; Price; Mestayer; Gould; Evans; John Cox.	Jones; Pearce; I Gould; Evans;	Price; Mestryer; John Cox.	Hunt.	Wm. Pennock, CPk; Joh.: Poole, Dep- udy; Philip Chet- woed, Deputy.
Acton; Pledger; Gould; Price; Cox; Jones; Mes-Josiah Fithian; tayer; Worrell.	Gould; Price; Cotayer; Worrell.	x; Jones; Mes-	Hunt.	Poole. Deputy; Wm. Frazer, Deputy.
As above. Jones; John Cox; Mestayer; Gould. Hunt.	Jones; John Cox; 1	Mestayer; Gould.	Hunt.	Frazer, D. Clerk.

CLERKS.	Chas. O'Neill, commissioned by Gov. Burnet; Wm. Frazer, Deputy.	O'Neill.	O'Neill.	O'Neill.	O'Neill.	O'Neill.
SHERIFFS.	Hunt.	Hunt.	Nicholas Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon. in the Supreme Court.
ATTORNIES.	Jones, Dep'y Att'y Gen'l; Cox; Mestayer; Gould.	Cox; Jones; Mestayer; ‡Robert Hartshorn.	Mestayer; Jones; Cox; Price.	Jones; Mestayer; Price; Hartshorn.	As above.	ncock; Sharp; As above. Davis; Philip Chetwood, commissioned to take Bail in ail causes in the Supreme Court.
JUDGES.	As above.	Josiah Fithian; Pledger; Clement Hall.	Hall; Pledger; Wm. Hancock. Justices †Philip Chetwood; Leonard Gibbon.	Hancock; Pledger; Isaac Sharp; Chetwood, Justice.	Hancock; Pledger; Shepherd; Chetwood, Justice.	Hancock; Sharp; Davis; Philip Chetwood,
DATE.	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744

O'Neill.	O'Neill.	O'Neill.	Nicholas Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.
Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Wm. Barker.	Barker.	Barker.	Barker.	John Nicholson.
Sharp; Shepherd; Joseph Ross or Rose; Hartshorn; Gibbon. Vanhist; Chet. Jones; Mestayer.	Ross; Mestayer; Jones; Hartshorn.	Ross; Mestayer; Hartshorn; Lewis Ashfield; Francis Bowes.	Ross; Mestayer; Hartshorn.	Hartshorn; Mestayer; Ross.	Hartshorn; Mestayer; John Law-rence.	Hartshorn; Mestayer	Mestayer, Att'y for Salem; Hartshorn (died;) E. R. Price; Lawrence; Joseph Scattergood; Robert (?) Morris; Pidgeon.
Sharp; Shepherd; Vanhist; Chet- wood, (died.)	Hancock; Sharp; Vanhist.	Hancock; Sharp; Shepherd.	Sharp; Hancock; Vanhirst; Wm. Frazer.	Hancock; Frazer; Vanhist.	Sharp; Hancock; Wetherby.	Sharp; Vanhist.	Sharp; Hancock.
1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752

CLERKS.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gihbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.
SHERIFFS.	Nicholson.	Nicholson.	Robt. Johnson.	Johnson.	Johnson,	Johnson.	Johnson.
ATTORNIES.	Mestayer; Scattergood; Lawrence, King's Att'y; ‡James Kinsey; Joseph Worrell, Att'y Gen'l; ‡Geo. Trenchard; Pidgeon; Morris.	Mestayer; Scattergood; Lawrence; Kinsey; Trenchard.	Trenchard; Lawrence; Mestayer; Kinsey.	Trenchard; Lawrence; Mestayer, Att'y Gen. (dicd); Kinsey, on the recommendation of Courtland Skinner, Esq., app'd to prosecute the Pleas, in the absence of the Att'y Gen'l, during good behavior.	Kinsey; Lawrence; Trenchard.	Trenchard; Lawrence; Read; Kinsey. Johnson.	Kinsey; Lawrence; Trenchard; Johnson. Augustine Moore.
JUDGES.	Hancock; Sharp; Wetherby.	Sharp; Vanhist; Hancock.	Sharp; Vanhist; Frazer; Wm. Hall,	Hancock; Sharp; Vanhist.	Hancock; Sharp; Frazer; Wetherby.	Sharp; Vanhist.	Hancock; Sharp.
DATE.	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759

Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	Gibbon.	John Budd.
Johnson.	Joseph Burroughs.	Burroughs.	Burroughs.	Burroughs.	E. Test, (to 1767).
Kinsey; Lawrence; Moore; Read; Johnson. Trenchard.	Kinsey; Moore; Lawrence; Trenchard, appointed to prosecute the pleas.	Trenchard; Moore; Lavrence; Kinsey; Samuel Allinson, licensed as Au'y, by Thos. Boone, late Gov.	Trenchard; Lawrence; Allinson; Bard; Smith; Kiusey.	Trenchard; Allinson; Lawrence; Bard; Smith; Kinsey.	Kinsey; Trenchard; Lawrence; Allinson.
Hancock; Sharp.	Hancock; Sharp.	Hancock; Wetherby.	Wetherby; Robert Johnson; John Holme; Hancock; Preston; Carpen- ter; Grant; Gib- bon.	Wetherby; Johnson; A. Sinnickson; Holme; Gibbon; Elisha Bassett.	As Above.
1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765

Blank until 1769.

	CLERKS.	Geo. Trenchard.	Trenchard.	Trenchard.	Bateman Lloyd; Trenchard.	Trenchard.	Trenchard.	-
AND STREET, ST	SHERIFFS.	Burroughs.	Burroughs.	Trenchard.	Trenchard.	Bateman Lloyd.		
	ATTORNIES.	Trenchard, Atty. Gen.; Allinson.; Burroughs. Lawrence; Worth; Kinsey.	Trenchard; Allinson; Worth; Law-rence; Kinsey; Joseph Read.	Allinson; Trenchard; Lawrence; Read.	Allinson; Read; Lawrence; James Bowman; Trenchard; Kinsey; ‡John Carey.	Lawrence; Kinsey; Carey; Read; Trenchard; Bowman; Alliuson; Shaw.	Trenchard; Carey; Lawrence; Bowman; Ross.	Trenchard; Ross; Carey.
	JUDGES.	Basset; A. Sinnickson; Holme; Johnson; R. Howard; Sam'l Linch.	Carpenter; Sin- nickson; J. Holme.	Sinnickson; Carpenter: Grant; Gibbon.	Bassett; Sinnick-son.	Bassett; Holme; Sinnickson; Gibbon.	Bassett; Sinnick-son; Robt, Johnson; Mayhew; Howard.	Bassett; Sinnick-son; Mayhew;
	DATE.	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	1774	1775

	Bateman Lloyd.	Curtis Trenchard.		John Smith.			John Rowen.	
; 	1						Whitten Cripps.	Cripps.
Sinnickson; Holme, G. Gibbon; John-Shaw; Lawrence; Ross; Carey; Son.	Saml. Leake; John Carey.	Carey; Davenport; S. Leake, State Atty.	Carey; Leake; Bloomfield; Davenport.	Richard Howell; Franklin Daven- port; Leake; Bloomfield; Carey.	Bloomfield; Davenport; Carey; Leake; Howell.	Bloomfield; Davenport; Leake; Howell.	Davenport; Bloomfield; John Law-rence; Howell, Atty. Gen.; Leake; Joseph Read.	Howell; Leake; Davenport; ‡Kinsey; Lawrence.
Sinnickson; Holme, G. Gibbon; Johnson.	Holme; Sinnickson; Mayhew.	Holme; Sinnickson; Johnson; Mayhew; Mecum.	Sinnickson; Johnson; Mecum.	Sinnickson; Mecum; Johnson.	John Holme; Robert Johnson.	Holme; Sinnickson; Johnson; Mecum.	Holmes; Johnson; Mecum; Sinnick- son.	Sinnickson; Johnson; Mecum.
1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784

CLERKS.	Rowen.				Anthony Keasbey, (to 1795.)		
SHERIFFS.	Cripps.	Benjamin Cripps.	B. Cripps.	B. Cripps.	Whitten Cripps.	W. Cripps.	W. Cripps.
ATTORNIES.	Leake; Lawrence; Kinsey; Daven- port; Howell; ‡Richard Burchan.	Leake; Lawrence; Kinsey; Daven- port; Burchan; Howell.	Burchan; Howell; Leake; Davenport; Lawrence; Aaron D. Woodruff: †John Vanleinvenigh.	Lawrence; Burchan; Davenport; Vankinvenigh; Howell; Leake.	Burchan; Leake; Vanleinvenigh; Davenport; Lawrence; Giles; Howell.	Vanleinvenigh; Davenport; Burchan; Lawrence; Leake.	Burchan; Leake; Davenport; John Lawrence, Jun.; Giles; Maskell; Ewing; Lawrence, Senr.; Rob. Pearson; †Lucius Horatio Stock- ton; Wm. K. Ilugg.
JUDGES.	Holme; Sinnickson; Mecum; Johnson; Mayhew.	Mecum; Sinnick-son; Johnson.	Holme; Mecum; Mayhew; Isaac Harris.	Holme; Sinnickson; Mayhew; Mecum; Harris.	Holme; Mecum; Sinnickson; Harris; Mayhew.	I	J. Holme; Wetherby; B. Holme; Thos. Sinnickson.
DATE.	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791

	l	1	İ
Edwd. Hall.	Edwd. Hall.	Edwd. Hall.	Clement Acton, (to 1798.)
J. Holme; Wetherby; B. Holme; Sin- nickson. Sin- Giles; Burchan; Lawrence, Jun.; †Colvin; Giles; Burchan; Lawrence, Sen.; Stockton; Ewing; Hugg; John Moore White; Wm. Griffith; Joseph Read; Howell; ‡James Kinsey, Jun.; Amos Pearce.	Colvin; Stockton; Leake; Burchan; Giles; Hugg; Ewing; White; Davenport; Lawrence, Jun.; Pearson; Pearce; Lawrence, Sen.; Jos. Read.	†Saml. Leake; ‡Aaron Leake; Read; Colvin; Stockton; Davenport; White; Lawrence, Jun.; Pearce; Burchan; Giles, Pearson.	S. Leake; A. Leake; Burchan; Colvin; Giles; Stockton; Davenport; Pearce; John Kinsey; Lawrence, Jun.; Pearson; Lawrence, Sen.; Read; Woodruff, Atty. Gen.; White; James Kinsey, Jun.
J. Holme; Wetherby; B. Holme; Sin- nickson.	J. Holme; Harris Mayhow; Wetherby; F. Sinnickson.	Holme; Wetherby; Sinnickson; Harris.	Holme; Mayhew; Wetherby; Bate- man Lloyd.
1793	-1793	1794	1795

CLERKS.	James Login.	James Login.	Acton.	Clement Acton, (to 1803.)
SHERIFFS.	[1	John Tuft.	John Tuft, (t) 1830.)
ATTORNIES.	S. Leake; A. Leake; Burchan; Pearce; Lawrence, Jun.; Daven- port; Stockton; Giles; Kinsey, Jun.; White; Colvin; ‡Abijah Whiting.	Amos Pearce; Whiting; Davenport; A. Leake; Stockton; Lawrence, Jun.; Woodruff; S. Leake; Burchan; Kinsey; White; Griffith, Giles; Griffith; Pearson.	A. Leake; White; Pearce; Burchan; Kinsey; Davenport; Pearson; Lawrence, Jun.; S. Leake, Stockton; Whiting; Woodruff.	Davenport; Whiting; Woodruff; Burchan; Kinsey; Lawrence; Giles; Stockton; White; Pearson.
JUDGES.	Holme; Wetherby; John Smith.	Smith; Benj. Smith; James Wright; B. Lloyd; Eleazer Mayhew.	J. Smith; B. Smith; Eleazer Mayhew; James Wright.	Smith Lloyd; Jacoh Hufty; Jonathan Waddington; Wm. Eiddle; Mayhew.
DATE.	1796	1797	1798	1799

I here desist from pursuing my researches, in consequence of the irregularities of the Records, excepting so far as refers to the following Officers:

SURROGATES.

Samuel Dick,		Morris Hancock,	to 1	
Artis Seagreaves Jacob Hufty,		Joseph Brown, Isaac Hacket,	to 1	.040
Daniel Garrison,	to 1823		.)	

SHERIFFS.

Jacob Hufty	to 1804	John Hacket	died 1828
Samuel L. James	to 1807	Isaac Johnson	to 1831
Thomas Bines	to 1810	James Logue	to 1834
Henry Freas	to 1813	David S. English	to 1837
Richard Craven	to 1816	Thomas I. Carter	to 1840
Samuel Miller	to 1819	Isaac Johnson, 2d,	to 1843
Jonathan Richie	to 1822	Robert Newell	to 1846
Joseph Kille	to 1825	Isaac Conklin,	
Edward Smith	to 1828	(the present incum	bent.)

CLERKS.

to 1806	Thomas Smith	to 1844
to 1829 to 1839	Thomas Dickenson	to 1849
	to 1829	to 1806 Thomas Smith to 1829 and now to 1839 Thomas Dickenson

ATTORNIES,

From 1777 to 1849-have practiced in our Court.

1798	†Isaac Watts Crane.	1815	Thomas Chapman.
1800	*Josiah Harrison.	1817	Richard S. Coxe.
	Wm. Rattoone.	_	Wm. B. Griffith.
	Abraham Brown.	1825	†Aaron O. Dayton.
	Andrew S. Hunter.	1829	†Oliver K. Freeman.
1802	Charles Ewing.	1821	tJohn E. Jeffers.
	Garret D. Wall	1822	*Alfonso E. Eaken.
	Charles Kinsey.		tJohn Smalley.
1805	Daniel Elmer.	1823	*Francis L. Maccullock.
1806	Robert L. Armstrong.	1	†Richard S. Field.
1808	John L. Nugent.	1825	*Richard P. Thompson.
	Aaron D. Woodruff.		*James M. Harmah.
1811	Samuel L. Southard.	i	†Benjamin H. Latrobe.
	†Charles Burden.		†Henry Ellett.
	†Charles Seelev.	l	*Thomas S. Smith.
	tM. Bloomfield Wall.	i	*Samuel A Allen.
1814	†Wm. N. Jeffers.		*Wm. S. Clawson.
	Richard Stockton, Sen.		*Andrew Sinnickson.
	Lucius Q. C. Elmer.		*Anthony Q. Keasbey.
1815	Elias P. Seeley.		

I have now finished examining every leaf of the Records of our Courts from 1706 to this time; it has been a great labor.— From about the year 1765 to 1820 and 30, the Records were kept in the most disorderly manner that can be conceived. I examined as much as an armful of what are called the Court Records; the entries were made in just such books as are used by boys at school—for

cyphering and copy books-many of them even without their ordinary covers.

This brings to my recollection a remark once made to me by Senator Southard, after he had been in the Clerk's office on business, "That he had never seen such confusion in all his life-and that in consequence of such neglect and derangement, there were in that office the means for litigation for many years to come, if such were

sought after."

The number of Judges, counting from 1707 to 1800, I make 53; the number of Sheriffs, including four Bailiffs, 44; Surrogates and Recorders from the 1692 to the present time, I make 17; but it is from recollection that I have added the Gibbons's, father and son, having often heard my parents say that they were Snrrogates. Nicholas Gibbon was my grandfather, Grant Gibbon my mother's brother. I have also heard that the two Trenchards were Surrogates-they were brothers. Sinneckson preceded Doctor Sam'l Dick-they were brothers-in-law. The Johnson, Gibbon, Trenchard, and Sinneckson families were matrimonially connected.

ROBT. G. JOHNSON.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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MEMOIR

OF

JOHN FENWICKE,

CHIEF PROPRIETOR OF SALEM TENTH, NEW JERSEY,

ROBERT G. JOHNSON,

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JULY 23, 1846.

AS a member of the New Jersey Historical Society, I feel it to be my duty,-descended as I am from ancestors who were among the very first settlers of Salem,-to assist in advancing its interests, by endeavoring to bring to light the character and pursuits of one of those bold adventurers to this then western wilderness, so that we, their descendants, may know the efforts made by them, which, by the goodness of Divine Providence have resulted in the attainment of a position by our State unsurpassed by any in the Union .- "It is wise," said Mr. Webster, not long since, "occasionally to recur to the sentiments and to the character of those from whom we are descended. Men who are regardless of their ancestors and of their posterity, are very apt to be regardless of themselves. The man who does not feel himself to be a link in the great chain to transmit life and being, intellectual and moral existence, from his ancestors to his posterity, does not justly appreciate the relations which belong to him. The contemplation of our ancestors and descendants ought ever to be within the grasp of our thoughts and affection. The past belongs to us by affectionate retrospect, while the future belongs to us no less by affectionate anticipation of those who are to come after us. And then only do we do ourselves justice when we are ourselves true to the blood we inherit, and true to those to whom we have been the means of transmitting that blood."*

John Fenwicke, Esquire, Chief Proprietor of what was called Salem Tenth, emigrated from Bynfield, in Berkshire, England, to West Jersey, in the month of June, in the year 1675. He was a man of high standing in the community where he resided in England, and of large and influential connections, and could probably trace his ancestry back to those who figured in the border wars, which Walter Scott has so well decribed; when—

"There was mounting 'mong Græmes of Netherby clan: "Forsters, Fenwickes, and Musgraves, they rode and they ran."

The Fenwicke family were numerous. From a copy of a triparte deed, dated 8th July, 1636, (which is deposited in the archives of the Society), I find that William Fenwicke and Elizabeth his wife, were the parents of our "Chief Proprietor;" that they had four sons, Edward, John, Rodger, and Ralph. In this deed, John, being the second son, is styled Knight and Baronet. William Fenwicke, the father of these sons, is styled "Sir William Fenwicke, Baronet,"—he represented the county of Northumberland in the Parliament in the year 1659, being the last Parliament under the Commonwealth. In 1740 he resided at Stanton Hall, of Stanton Manor, in the county of Cumberland, and parish of Horsely. His estate consisted of 5 cottages, 5 orchards, 2 gardens, 1 water mill, 200 acres of land, 200 acres of meadow, 300 acres of wood and pasture, 500 acres of moor, 1 village called Berry-Hill, 1 village called Asheels, a messuage or tenement called Lime Kilne Field, and another called Trewettly Shields.

John Fenwicke was a student at law at Gray's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, in the year 1640; and when he came to America brought with him the various forms made use of by gentlemen of the law, particularly those relating to the disposition of estates. I have no date by which I can fix with any degree of certainty at what time he married his first wife; it was previous to the year 1642, most probably in 1641. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter

^{*} Speech in Washington, Dec. 22d, 1845.

Covert, Knight, of Slaugham, in the county of Sussex.* Neither have I ascertained at what time he married his second wife, Mary, who was connected with the Burdett family. From letters written to him, she appears to have had some affection for him, and to have sympathized with him in his misfortunes; although from causes not known, she declined accompanying him to Salem, and they parted never to see each other more.

During the intestine commotions and civil wars which agitated England, when there could scarcely be permitted any neutrality among men, we find that Fenwicke, as a military officer, connected with those who sought the downfall of King Charles the First. And we may reasonably conclude that the zeal, courage, and skill which he displayed when with the army, had a tendency to produce the utmost confidence in the mind of Oliver Cromwell, or he would not have entrusted him with important duties to be performed on two special occasions. The first was by a commission under the hand and seal of Oliver dated 25th October 1648, in these words: "You are hereby ordered and required as Major under Colonel Thomas Barwis, in his regiment of cavalry which was raised in the county of Westmoreland, to assist the garrison of Carlisle, and to exercise the officers and soldiers under his command according to the discipline of war. And they are hereby required to yield obedience unto you as Major of said regiment. And all this you are authorized unto, until the pleasure of the Parliament or the Lord General be known."

Given under my hand and seal at Bernard Castle, 27th October, 1648.

O. CROMWELL."

"To John Fenwicke, Major. These."

^{*} He had two sons and two daughters—the sons were Thomas and John—the daughters were Anna and Elizabeth. Thomas Covert being the eldest son, and heir apparent, gave to his two sisters a lease dated 30th January 1639, for sixty years, (at a rent of one pepper corn) of lands called Sinderly, Hoggesland, and Dencombe, containing 700 acres. Also lands called Rowle, Friende Betchlies, Sowters, and Courtlands, containing 177 acres, situate in the parishes of Slaugham, Bolney, and Tineham, in the county of Sussex. Thomas Covert having died, John Covert, his brother and heir confirmed the lease to his sisters. Anna Covert having died, her sister Elizabeth became the sole owner of the whole lease; and she having married our John Fenwicke, they, husband and wife, conveyed the lease to a trustee for her benefit. This conveyance was dated, 27 Nov. 1642. After that, to wit:—on the 6th Dcc. 1649, it was conveyed to other trustees, namely—Henry Brandreth, merchant, and Daniel Taylor, haberdasher, both of London, for the benefit of the said Elizabeth, as long as she lived; and in case of her death, for her husband John Fenwicke if he should survive her. These trustees joined John Fenwicke in a mortgage, with Goodwin, gentleman, of London.

The second commission was similar, requiring him as Major of Cavalry to attend to the decapitation of Charles 1st, which took place on 30th January, 1648.

So also, John Bradshawe, the president of the judges of that court, who passed sentence of death upon the King, and who was subsequently chosen President of that Parliament, specially appointed Fenwicke captain of a troop of horse, by him to be raised from volunteers, who were to act as a guard to that Parliament, and "toobserve and obey such orders and directions as he should from time to time receive from the President, the Council, the Lord General, or others authorized by them." This commission was dated at the Council of State, at White Hall, 4th September, 1651.

We may therefore conclude, that Fenwicke as an officer, discharged his duty with fidelity to the then ruling powers, and so continued probably from that time until the authority of Richard Cromwell, the son and successor of Oliver Cromwell to the government, began to decline,—when the political storm gathering thick upon him, and possessing neither judgment nor courage vigorously to oppose it, he was obliged to abdicate his authority in favor of that Parliament which had usurped all power, that he might secure a competency for himself and family, and be permitted to end his days at Cheshunt as

a private citizen.

The members who composed what was then called the "New Parliament," having frightened the good natured and timid Cromwell by their arbitrary proceedings, so as submissively to compound with them for his life and future support, began forthwith to turn out all the officers of the army and navy whom they suspected could not be brought into subjection to their mandates, and to promote such others as were willing to be obsequious to all their plans and manœuvres. Such proceedings had a direct tendency to alienate and disgust a large majority of the officers and soldiers of their armies; and rather than submit to what they considered an outrage upon their characters, they began secretly, but perseveringly, to look around for some suitable person, who, at the head of the army would assert the rights of the people and endeavor to establish such a form of government as should secure to the citizens a cessation from the deadly feuds in which they had been so long engaged, as well as guarantee to them all those inherent rights of life, liberty, and property to which they were entitled. It is thought that Fenwicke adhered to that part of the army which had for its head, General George Monk, who had been, some time previous, appointed Commander in-Chief, and who by his clear foresight and consummate prudence, brought about the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of England, a consummation most anxiously desired and looked for by those favorable to monarchy.

In the proclamation of amnesty published by King Charles the Second, free pardon was granted to all those who had borne arms against him, except a few whose names were mentioned, and these were denominated "the regicides." We may suppose that Fenwicke embraced the amnesty thus proffered by making his concessions to the ruling powers, but he retired from the army and devoted the remainder of his life to peaceful industry and in providing for the wants

of his growing family.

By a certificate dated February 11th, 1649, it would seem that Fenwicke at that time was connected with the Independent Congregation of which John Goodwin was the Pastor. quently, but at what time I have not been able to ascertain, withdrew from the Independents, and embraced the forms, discipline, and creed of the sect called Friends or Quakers. I am inclined to think that after he had formed an acquaintance with the family of Admiral Penn, and with his son William Penn, who had just reached manhood, he was so fascinated by the persuasive eloquence of the latter, from his placidity of character, his high family connexions, his self-devotedness to what he considered the cause of religious truth, that he became enamoured with the man and his principles. The soft and persuasive language with which Penn was so eminently gifted, had a tendency to win over to his religious faith and principles, not only John Fenwicke, but thousands of other people of high character and standing throughout the British dominions, and even some on the Continent of Europe. We may therefore conclude it was at the time of the restoration of Charles the Second when he renounced all his warlike principles, and retired to private life that Fenwicke assumed the peaceful, mild and unassuming doctrines of the Quakers.*

It is highly probable that these two extraordinary men—like kindred spirits—although so unequal in age, living near each other, (their families having landed property in the same County, of Sussex, and parish of Worminghurst, distant from the then county town of Arun-

^{*} Admiral Penn was born in 1621, and died in 1670, aged 49 years and 4 months.—William Penn, his son, afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania, was born in 1644, and died in 1718, aged 74 years.—John Fenwicke was born in 1618, died December, 1683, aged 65 years; so that there was a différence of only 3 years between him and Admiral Penn, but he was 29 years the senior of the Governor.

dell about eight miles,) had, at times, when disengaged from public business, every opportunity of contracting and cementing that friendship for each other which appears to have continued through life, with the exception of a short and unfortunate interruption—the consequence of a hasty and possibly misconceived prejudice in the mind of Fenwicke, which was afterwards most honorably and feelingly atoned for

by him.

From the knowledge which these two men had obtained of our Atlantic coast, and of the spirit prevailing among many of their people for emigrating to New England, we may reasonably conclude that the mutual interchange of views and sentiments confirmed in them the determination to emigrate themselves. Fenwicke having fully communicated his views to Penn of his intended disposition to seek an asylum for himself, his family and their sect in this western world, that he might be far remote from the turmoils of Europe-entered into a contract with John Lord Burkeley, who, on March 18th, 1673-4, conveyed the moiety or half part of New Jersey to him, for which he agreed to pay one thousand pounds. The year following, namely, on Feb. 9th, 1674-5, he conveyed nine-tenths thereof to William Penn and others for Edward Billinge; and after consummating these transactions, he employed his time in preparing himself for his intended enterprise.

He had numerous connections to whom he had to communicate his plans, and confer upon his intended project in laying a foundation for the future independence of his family and friends; and very probably too, soliciting their co-operation in embarking with him as adventurers to the new world-or, if not willing to accompany him there, at least in kindness to assist him by their wealth and influence in the prosecution of his hazardous undertaking.* But here he was suddenly interrupted in his plans by a dispute which arose between him and Edward Billinge, respecting a division of their lands and other pecuniary matters. In fact, Billinge being much involved in debt, conveyed his right in his West Jersey property away (from John Fenwicke, who had been his trustee), to other trustees-namely: William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, to be by them disposed of for the use and benefit of his creditors.

After some difficulties and much disputation between the two, they

^{*} Both Fenwicke and his second wife were cousins to Edward Burdett and Sir Francis Burdett, who, by a letter which he received from his wife when he resided in Salem, informed him that his cousin Edward Burdett was "very ready and willing upon all occasions to assist her." But I cannot find that he at any time received either directly or indirectly any pecuniary assistance from either of the Burdett families.

agreed that William Penn should be the umpire, and put an end to their controversies. Penn having heard the allegations of the parties, rendered his award in favor of Billinge. Fenwicke took great offence at the decision and refused to abide by the award.

This refusal of Fenwicke grieved William Penn and gave him great uneasiness, for the parties were of standing among the Quakers.

Penn addressed a letter in the following words-

"John Fenwicke—The present difference betwixt thee and Edward Billinge fills the hearts of Friends with grief, and with a resolution to take it, in two days, into their consideration, to make a public denial of the person that offers violence to the award made, or that will not end it without bringing it upon the public stage.—God, the righteous judge, will visit him that stands off. Edward Billinge will refer the matter to us again, if thou wilt do the like. Send me word, and, oppressed as I am with business, I will find an afternoon, to morrow or next day, to determine, and so prevent the mischief that will certainly follow divulging it in Westminster-Hall. Let me know by the bearer thy mind. O John! let truth and the honor of it this day prevail. Woe to him that causeth offences! I am an impartial man.

He wrote a second letter which was in these words-

"John Fenwicke—I have upon serious consideration of the present difference (to end it with benefit to you both, and as much quiet as may be,) thought my council's opinion very reasonable: indeed, thy own desire to have the eight parts added, was not so pleasant to the other party that it should now be shrunk from by thee as injurious; and when thou hast once thought a proposal reasonable, and given power to another to fix it, 'tis not in thy power, nor indeed discreet or civil thing, to alter or warp from it, and call it a being forced. O John! I am sorry that a toy, a trifle, should thus rob men of their time, quiet, and a more profitable employ. I have had a good conscience in what I have done in this affair; and if thou reposest confidence in me, and believest me to be a good and just man, as thou hast said, thou shouldst not be upon such nicety and uncertainty. Away with vain fancies, I beseech thee, and fall closely to thy business. spend on, and make the best of what thou hast. Thy grand children may be in the other world before the land thou hast allotted will be employed. My council, I will answer for it, shall do thee all right and service in the affair that becomes him, who, I told thee at first, should

draw it up as for myself. If this cannot scatter thy fears, thou art WM. PENN."* Thy friend, unhappy, and I am sorry.

I now for the present, take leave of Fenwicke and his difficulties and concernments while in England, to speak of his embarking and landing at Salem in West Jersey. Having all things in readiness he went on board the ship with his family, consisting of his three daughters, by his first wife, Elizabeth, Anna, and Priscilla, and his housekeeper Mary White; also, John Adams, the husband of Elizabeth, with their three children—Elizabeth Fenwicke and Priscilla; also, Edward Champneys, the husband of Priscilla, with two children-John and Mary, with their servants, viz: Robert Turner, Gervas Bywater, William Wilkenson, Joseph Worth, Michael Eaton, Eleanor Geere, Ruth Geere, Zachariah Geere, Sarah Hutchins-these were the servants of Fenwicke—and Mark Reeve, Edward Webb, and Elizabeth Waits, the servants of Champneys. Anna Fenwicke, his daughter, some short time after their arrival married Samuel Hedge. They all arrived at Salem on the 23d of June, 1675, in the ship called the Griffin, Capt. Robert Griffith. †

* From Life of Penn.

† It is well to mention here the names of such ships as brought over emigrants to Salem as far as I can with certainty, as it will correct some mistakes in Smith's History

of New Jersey :-

On the 13th March, 1674, arrived at Salem the ship called the Joseph and Benjamin, Matthew Payne, commander, with emigrants, among whom were John Pledger, Hypolite Lefevre and others. These two persons became large proprietors of land. The ship was bound to Maryland.

To one of these I can easily trace back my connection— Pledger's son Joseph married the daughter of Richard Johnson, who was my great grand

On 23d June, 1675, arrived at Salem the ship Griffin, Capt. Robt. Griffith, with emigrants, among whom were John Fenwicke and his family and friends, besides

Elizabeth Pledger, the wife of John Pledger, with their child Joseph.

The same ship Griffin returned to England, and arrived again at Salem with emigrants in the last of November of the same year, 1675.

In November, 1677, arrived at Elsinborough the ship Willing Mind, Capt. John New-

comb, with emigrants.

On 12th of twelfth month, 1677, arrived the ship Mary, with emigrants, commanded by Capt. John Wall. The same ship Mary made a second voyage from Ireland, with emigrants, and landed them at Elsinborough the same year; but the date I have not discovered.

In 1677 arrived the ship Kent, Capt. Gregory, with emigrants, to Salem.

In 1677 arrived the ship Success, commander Stephen Nicholson, from Virginia, with emigrants, to Salem. In 1679 arrived the ship Success, Nicholson, commander, with emigrants.

In 1679 arrived the ship Willing Mind, Capt. Newcomb. with emigrants.

In 9th month, 1681, arrived the ship New Adventure, commander John Dagger, with emigrants, to Elsinborough.

In 1681 arrived from London the ship Henry and Ann, with emigrants.

I have enumerated in the note on last page 16 arrivals at the town of Salem, twelve of them occurring before the death of Fenwicke, showing a large influx of immigrants, and I have no doubt but that many other immigrations were made to Salem in ships by persons of whom we have no account at this distant day, who were compelled to flee from the tyranny and persecutions of the hard hearted rulers of the old world.

This indicates most conclusively, that the personal influence of Fenwicke, united with that of his friends in England and Ireland, produced an extraordinary disposition for immigration hither among the masses of the people, notwithstanding the secret and unmanly opposition carried on against him by the large proprietors.

Fenwicke, now established in his proprietory, and locating his office at Ivy Point in the town of Salem, forthwith entered into treaties with the Indians and purchased all their lands included within the bounds of Old Man's Creek and Morris's River, for which he paid them according to contract in such articles as they stood in need of—namely: Guns, powder and lead, with rum, shirts, shoes, stockings and blankets, watch-coats and other English goods. These purchases were made within the years 1675 and 1676.

Fenwicke forthwith directed Richard Noble, his Surveyor General, to proceed and lay off lots in Salem and Cohanzick, (now Greenwich,) and at other places were designated by him. But for reasons not now known, Noble neglected or refused to comply with the requisitions of his employer, so that Fenwicke was obliged to discharge him and revoke his commission, and then appointed Richard Hancock as Surveyor General in his place. But he being subsequently employed by the coalition composed of Eldridge, Warner, Penn, Lawrie, Lucas, Billinge and Langhorne, Fenwicke revoked his commission also by the following document:—

"That Richard Hancock had dismissed himself from being any longer my deputy surveyor general, because that he did not only

In Nov., 1682, arrived the ship *Pink*, commander John Dagger. She was chartered in Dublin, and went round to London to take in her passengers and cargo, and arrived at Elsinborough.

Among many other persons came passenger in this ship Mark Newby, celebrated in our histories as the first financier that New Jersey produced, and whose Assembly conferred upon him the high honor of issuing half pence, to be called Patrick's half pence.

On 8th month, 1685, arrived the ship *Dorothea*, with emigrants, commander Bridgeman. In 1685 arrived the ship *Charles*, commander Edward Payne, with emigrants.

In 1686 arrived at New Castle the ship Shield of Stockton, in the 5th month. Many passengers came and settled near to Salem.

In 1705 many emigrants arrived at Salem, but the name of the ship is unknown, the remaining leaves of the book being lost.

perfidiously betray and deny my most legal and just interest—albeit, he had engaged twice under his hand, by way of an oath to be true and faithful thereunto—but also refused and wilfully neglected to obey, execute, and observe my commands and general warrants, when directed to him, or otherwise. Besides, he hath highly presumed to endeavor to survey my colony, and divers parcels of lands therein, by virtue of the arbitrary powers and illegal orders of Richard Guy, James Nevill, and others, his followers in connection—the which to justify they and he did lately force from Richard Tyndall, the legal commission I formerly gave him (as my surveyor general) and highly threatened to send him to prison, unless he would engage to act no more for me, nor by my order. All which their arbitrary practices and proceedings are contrary to law, equity and good conscience, and contrary to the peace of our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity, as may be made appear.

Given under my hand and seal, the first day of the tenth month, called December, 1680. FENWICKE."

Notwithstanding the unfriendly conduct exhibited by Nöble and Hancock, Fenwicke having consulted with ten of the principal purchasers of his land, concluded that every resident purchaser should have his tract of land set out to him, the one half in the liberty of Cohansey, and the other half in the liberty of Allaways; and that the purchasers should cast lots, who should begin and succeed till the tracts of land be surveyed. It was afterwards concluded that any individual might select his tract, and by applying to the office would have his warrant issued to the surveyor for surveying the same.*

^{*} The first and general order as agreed upon by Fenwicke and the first purchasers.—"We whose names are here subscribed, do first declare, as hereby is declared, that we have been exposed to great hazards, straits, dangers and cruelties whilst at sea. John Lord Berkely's deed being declared to be left in England, was the the cause of our troubles we met with there, and at our arrival, when our sorrows were multiplied, our miseries increased through cruelties and oppression; so that, as it appeared, John Eldridge and Edmund Warner laboured to send us away with the shadow, whilst they detained from us the substance, that should every where preserve us and our interest from ruin, even the ruin under which we hitherto groaned, and liked to be ruined, having received no relief from England, neither can we hear when to expect any; but wholly left as a people forsaken, even forsaken of them that pretended to take care of us; and many of those that embarked with us in the same undertaking did also desert us, and disperse themselves into other countries; so that now, if we can live, we may-if we cannot, we may die, for the care that has been and is taken of those men, as if their own interests were our destruction. But blessed be the God of heaven and of earth, who hath showed us mercy (to the amazement of our enemies here, and so it will be also to others in due time) praised be his name forever. He hath also by his spirit stirred in the hearts of many good people to pity us, sitting down together in this tract of land which John Fenwicke, the chief proprietor, purchased of the natives for his colony,

Eight of those persons who had purchased of Fenwicke when in England in the year 1674 and before his arrival here, were Samuel Nicholson, Edward Champneys, John Adams, Richard Noble, Rodger Huchins, Richard Haucock and Edward Wade, proceeded to draw for their lots of land, in the whole amounting to 26,000 acres. The lot No. 4 was drawn by Richard Noble, which he refused to take, and being asked, declined offering any reasons for his refusal; and from that time might be dated the enmity exhibited by him against Fenwicke, and was in all probability the beginning of that opposition formed against all the plans he devised, and which had ultimately in view the depriving him not only of his authority, but his lands also.

Fenwicke had hypothecated several thousand acres of his land when in England to raise funds to enable him to embark with his household to America in such a style as became his character as Lord or Chief Proprietor over his extensive domains;—and had he not been molested in the schemes he had projected, and had been permitted to have carried out his plans of locating the several towns, the sites of which he had demarcated, and of establishing Salem as the capital, with court-lets, and court barons, and of draining the great town marsh, and of erecting wharves for the accommodation of vessels, he estimated, that such and similar improvements contemplated, would have secured to him and his posterity wealth, and a name which would be perpetuated to succeeding generations.*

and to satisfy every of his purchasers by setting out their tracts of land therein accordingly. To the end, therefore, that the Lord's requirings may be answered, the desire of strangers satisfied, the said colony planted, we and our families preserved from ruin, every purchaser having his land set out, the natives neither provoked nor tempted, but all our lives preserved by setting out and planting the land as people come to take it up, and so sitting down together as in other countries:...We, after many meetings and serious consultations, do unanimously agree and conclude upon the method following, which we, the chief purchasers of Fenwicke's colony, and other the purchasers and freeholders residing within the same, do approve of and deem to be most just, reasonable and equal; and do therefore declare and order, that every purchaser that is resident shall forthwith have his tract of land set out—the one half in the liberty of Cohansick, the other half in the liberty of Allaways, or as the chief proprietor shall order the same there or elsewhere." The remainder refers to setting off lots.

This was signed 25th of the fourth month, answering to June 1676, just three days after Fenwicke had landed. The names of those purchasers were Edward Wade, John Smith, Richard Noble, Samuel Nicholson, John Adams, Hypolitus Lefevre, Edward Champneys, Richard Whitaker, William Malster, Robert Wade.

^{*} Fenwicke did not live to see those improvements made, but his executors, namely, Governor William Penn, of Pennsylvania, John Smith, of Smithfield, Samuel Hedge, of Hedgefield, and Richard Tindalls, of Tindalls Bower, conveyed by deed of trust, dated 24 Dec. 1688, all the above mentioned town marsh containing 560 acres to George Haslewood, Thomas Woodruff, and Richard Johnson, on condition that they, the owners and possessors of said Marsh shall embank and make a road though the same, lead-

But the many interruptions to the plans of Fenwicke were succeeded by open opposition to his authority. Demands were made upon him by his creditors, and so harrassed was he by the combinations formed against him, that he even included William Penn among his enemies, whom he had always heretofore considered as his fast friend. In his remonstrance he names several persons who had conspired against him to deprive him, as he thought, of his influence

among the people and of his property also.

Let us here look at Smith's History of New Jersey; in which we find that William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas became the trustees of Edward Billinge in behalf of his creditors; and they, in conjunction with Edward Billinge, John Eldridge and Edmond Warner (together deriving title from Lord Berkley, John Fenwicke's title being as good for his proprietary as any title could be) became, as they say, the Proprietors of the half part of the province, (including Fenwicke's purchase) which "though yet undivided, necessity pressing, they soon sold a considerable number of shares of their propriety to different purchasers, (according to their different shares) in common with them; so after some scheme had been fallen upon (not mentioned by the historian) as well for the better distribution of rights to land, as to promote the settlement, and ascertain a form of government, concessions were drawn, &c. &c."

These six Proprietors issued a commission and instructions to Richard Hartshorne, dated London, 6th month (August) 1676, which were sent by James Wasse, "a copy," say they, "is here enclosed; and also a copy of a letter sent to John Fenwicke to be read to him in the presence of as many of the people that went with him as may be;" but these papers are not now to be found. And that the instructions might be the more indelibly impressed upon his mind,

ing to Windham, and erect two wharves at and opposite Broadway Street. Those conditions were fulfilled by the twenty-three owners of the said Marsh, which greatly facilitated the trade of the place, and gave an additional impulse to the agricultural interest of the country; so that in a few years a considerable trade was carried on by the merchants to Boston, and Barbadoes, and other West India islands. In confirmation whereof, I will here mention, a notice taken by Gabriel Thomas in his account of Pennsylvania and West Jersey. These are his words—"In 1675, one Major Fenwicke went to West Jersey, and with some others built a pretty town, and called it Salem. And a fine market town it is, having several fairs kept yearly in it. Likewise well furnished with good stores of most necessaries for human support, as bread, beer, beef, and pork, as also butter and cheese. And of vessels they freighted several and sent them to Barbadoes and other islands. There are many fine stately brick houses built, and a commodious dock for vessels to come in at, and they claim equal privileges with Burlington for the sake of antiquity, but that is the principal place appointed by Colonel Daniel Coxe for holding the Courts."

they further say—"because we both expect and also entreat and desire thy assistance in the same, we will a little shew things to thee, that thou may inform not only thyself, but friends there,"—that is, in Salem. I am inclined to think that he who reads this will coincide with me in opinion, that these schemes "so necessity pressing," were matured in England, and were designed to thwart Fenwicke in his influence with the population emigrating hither, as well to prevent him from making sale of his lands at Salem. They proceed to say—

1st, "We have divided with George Carteret, and have sealed deeds of partition, each to the other, and we have all that side on Delaware River from one end to the other; ours is called New West Jersey, his is called New East Jersey."

3d, "We have sent over by James Wasse, a commission under our hands and seals, wherein we impower thyself (Richard Hartshorne,) James Wasse, and Richard Guy, or any two of you, to act and do according to the instructions, of which here is a copy."

4th, "We intend in the Spring to send over some more Commissioners, with the friends and people that cometh there, because James Wasse is to return to England: For Richard Guy, we judge him to be an honest man, yet we are afraid that John Fenwicke will hurt him, and get him to condescend to things that may not be for the good of the whole; so we hope those will balance him to what is just and fair; that John Fenwicke betray him not, that things may go on easy without hurt or jar; which is the desire of all friends; and we hope West Jersey will be soon planted."

Having thus given short extracts from the beforegoing sections, these six Proprietors say, 5th, "For we do not like the tract of land John Fenwicke hath bought, so as to make it our first settlement; but we would have thee and friends there, to provide and take up a place on some creek or river, that may lie nearer you, and such a place as you may like; for may be it may come in your minds to come over to our side, when you see the hand of the Lord with us; and so we can say no more, but leave the thing with you, believing that friends there will have a regard to friends settling, that it may be done in that way and method, that may be for the good of the whole; rest thy friends." G. L. W. P. N. L. E. B. J. E. E. W.

Looking a little further into Smith, we find on page 83, that five of these Proprietors, namely, Nicholas Lucas, Edmund Warner, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Edward Billinge, "gave full power, commission, and authority unto James Wasse, Richard Hartshorne,

and Richard Guy, or any two of them, to act and do for us according to the following instructions."—Dated London, 18th, 6 month

(August) 1676.

1st. "We desire you to get a meeting with John Fenwicke, and the people that went with him, but we would not have you tell your business until you get them together; then shew and read the deed of partition with George Carteret; also the transactions between William Penn, Nicholas Lucas, Gawen Lawrie, John Eldridge and Edmond Warner, and then read our letter to John Fenwicke and the rest, and shew John Fenwicke he hath no power to sell any land there without the consent of John Eldridge and Edmond Warner."

2d. "Know of John Fenwicke, if he be willing peaceably to let the land he hath taken up of the natives be divided into one hundred parts, according to our and his agreement in England, casting lots for the same — we being willing that those who being settled and have cultivated ground now with him, shall enjoy the same, without being turned out, altho' they fall into our lots: Always provided, that we be reimbursed the like value and quantity in goodness out of John Fenwicke's lots."

4th. They direct, that they "lay out four or five thousand acres for a town," but if not, then let there "be two thousand acres, and let him divide it in a hundred parts; and when it is done, let John Fenwicke, if he please, be there; however, let him have notice; But, however, let some of you be there, to see the lots cast fairly by one person that is not concerned."

5th. "If John Fenwicke, and those concerned with him, be willing to join with you in those things as above, which is just and fair, then he or any of them may go along with you in your business; and let them pay their proportion of what is paid to the natives, with other charges: And so he and they may dispose of their lots with consent

of John Eldridge and Edmond Warner."

6th. "If John Fenwicke and his people refuse to let the land they have taken up of the natives to be divided, and refuse to join with you; you may let the country know in what capacity John Fenwicke stands, that he hath no power over the persons or estates of any man or woman more than any other person."

7th. "What land you take of the natives, let it be taken, viz:— Ninety parts for the use of William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, and ten parts for John Eldridge and Edmond Warner."

12th. They direct them to get a certain man, by name Augustine, but if he cannot be obtained, then "send for William Elliot, who

had offered himself to Gawen Lawrie to be surveyor." "He had a good character in Virginia, but was not able to keep it; he is a fair conditioned, sober man."

13th. "If John Fenwicke be willing to go on jointly with you there, his surveyor may go along and help ours, and the charges shall be brought in for both proportionably on all. *Mind this*, and speak to Richard Guy or Richard Hartshorne, and leave orders with them to let William Elliot have provisions for himself till spring."

It appears difficult to reconcile the varied instructions given to these commissioners by those proprietors without being distrustful of their good motives. For in that 1st section, they were desired "to get Fenwicke and his people together, and tell them that he had no power to sell any land without the consent of John Eldridge and Edmond Warner. Now the people knew that many of them who had purchased of him when in England large tracts of land, were then settled on them, and some purchased the good will of the Indians, that they might live peaceably among them, and were satisfied that they had obtained a good and sufficient title from him and them also.

In the 4th Sect. They were to "tell Fenwicke that they were about to lay out a town and he might attend, and be there if he pleased." But long before these extraordinary proceedings reached America, the town of Salem was laid out, and the greater part of what now composes the town and township was surveyed into lots.

In the 5th Sect. Fenwicke was allowed to join them, and go with them in their business, he paying a certain proportion of the expense to the Indians and other charges—but still Warner and Eldridge must be consulted. It appears strange to think that the other three proprietors should take such an interest in the behalf of Warner and Eldridge—knowing they had amply secured themselves by taking a mortgage from Fenwicke upon all his proprietory.

In the 6th section. If Fenwicke and his people should refuse to comply with their requirements, then they were to marshal the whole influence of the country against him, and prostrate him in his power and authority in the estimation of the citizens. And in the next section, (7th) they were to carry out their high handed instructions, by whatever land they took of the natives, it was to be taken for the use and benefit of William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, ninety parts thereof—and ten parts for John Eldridge and Edmond Warner.

I do not think such arbitrary proceedings would be submitted to in this our day by the people in any part of the United States.—

That after Fenwicke had paid £1,000 to Lord Berkley, and purchased of the different Indian tribes all their rights in the soil from Morris river to Oldman creek, to be told that he and hundreds of his friends who had located themselves in and near Salem, had no

right there ? It was advice fraught with injustice.

In the 13th Section, the Commissioners were to procure a surveyor to proceed and survey the lands; and William Elliot was recommended as that surveyor. "He had a good character in Virginia, but was not able to keep it; he is a fair conditioned, sober man."-And with the recommendation of such a man for a surveyor, is Fenwicke invited to unite with his surveyor. "Mind this," was the emphatic injunction. Heretofore all confidence appears to have been placed in these commissioners, but in this section they were specially directed to "mind this." Well, what were they to mind? I infer that they were to mind Fenwicke and his surveyor if they appeared and took part in the surveying. Surely they needed not to be notified to mind Elliot-he was the man selected by the proprietors to do their work-"although he had a good character in Virginia,"-but very unfortunately for the poor fellow, he was not able to keep it. It is some consolation to think that he left it in another state, and brought it not to New Jersey.

Now it appears to me that the instructions of those large and influential proprietors to their commissioners here against Fenwicke were harsh indeed; more especially as they, his personal and interesed accusers, were so far distant from him, as to prevent him from

meeting them face to face.

But what shall be said of the historian who could chronicle all such surmises and inuendoes against the integrity and honesty of any man of ordinary standing in the community—much less against such a person as John Fenwicke, who, from what we know of the parties arrayed against him, stood as high in the estimation of the people in England, where he was known, as probably any of the Proprietors—without at the same time accompanying the charges with the exhibited claims and answers of Fenwicke; for Fenwicke during these difficulties which had been fomented in West Jersey, published to the people of his proprietary, what he considered his rights, and pointed out the wrongs which this coalition of wealthy and influential Proprietors were inflicting upon him. I shall endeavor to atone for the neglect of the historian, but before giving the documents referred to, I would remark, that having examined the parts most material in elucidating the instructions to Richard Hartshorne, I am inclined to

believe those six Proprietors acted not with the caution, prudence, and christian spirit becoming meek, quiet, and unoffending Quakers. I believe them all, as well as Fenwicke, to have been men possessing high and honorable feelings, but I cannot regard those instructions in any other light, than as evincing great envy and jealousy—and more especially censurable for the indirect and aggravated suspicion cast upon the character of Fenwicke for the want of honor and honesty.

What a compliment have these Proprietors paid to their commissioner, Richard Guy? They judge him to be an honest man! so should every man be judged until the reverse is proved. But they seem to doubt the strength of his integrity. Was honor and integrity at so low an ebb, that even Richard Guy, the chosen one of all the emigrants—"but his character for integrity might be hazarded," say they, "we are afraid that John Fenwicke will hurt him!" What will not anger and prejudice do?

On looking back, however, to the days when these Proprietors were on the stage of life, we shall find that they were, every one of them speculators in these western lands, and that their sole object was to accumulate fortunes; and although they were all men of high character and distinction, yet, it must be apparent to every observer, that self-interest was at the bottom of all their schemes and manœuvres; hence the scheme which had a tendency to deprive Fenwicke of his fair name, to alienate the confidence of his friends from him, and compel him to surrender his rights in the tract which he had purchased from Lord Berkley and the Indians, that they might derive the benefit of his Salem proprietary, to the great damage of himself, his relations, and friends. It illy became those Proprietors to give utterance and countenance to such disrespectful and uncharitable sentiments respecting one of their own faith and order; especially as two of their number were public friends or preachers. They appear to have forgotten to practice, what we may presume they frequently inculcated from their pulpits, the injunctions recorded in the scriptures-such as "to speak evil of no man." "Speak not evil one of another, brethren, he that speaketh evil of a brother, speaketh out of the law, and judgeth the law."

I would now call attention to the documents I have before referred

"THE true state of the case between John Fenwicke, Esq. and John Eldridge and Edmund Warner, concerning Mr. Fenwicke's ten

parts of his land in West New Jersey, in America. "Mr. Fenwicke being seized of and interested in ten equal (but undivided) hundred parts of the lands in New Cesarea, or New Jersey, and being indebted to several persons in England, as also the said Eldridge and Warner, and being to leave England, and having occasion for more present monies, agrees to borrow it of the said Eldridge and Warner, offering them security by those lands, as councel should think reasonable; and being willing that his other creditors should be paid likewise, it was referred to councel indifferent betwixt them, to devise a security; and likewise for the encouragement of purchasers, to put the estate in law, into the hands of the said Eldridge and Warner, and accordingly a lease for 1000 years is made by Fenwicke to Eldridge and Warner, wherein it is mentioned-"That Fenwicke, to the intent and purpose Eldridge and Warner may be reimbursed of the said monies so as aforesaid due to them, with lawful interest for the same, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, to the time they shall be reimbursed the same; and also to the intent they may and shall be reimbursed all such monies as they shall happen to pay in or towards satisfaction of the several debts, in a schedule to the said lease annexed, mentioned, together with lawful interest for the same, at the rate aforesaid, from the time of such payments of the several and respective debts aforesaid, to such time as they shall be reimbursed the same; and also for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings, &c. doth grant, bargain and sell, &c., all the lands, &c., saving foreprized all such pieces, parts, parcels, quantities, and number of acres of land, and whatsoever else, he, the said Fenwicke, hath at any time before the date of the said lease, granted, bargained, sold, aliened or conveyed to any person or persons whatsover, by any grant, assurance, or conveyance whatever, entered, written, or copied in two register books of the same tenure, provided and kept for that purpose, one whereof now remaineth, and is to remain in the hands and custody of the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors, administrators, and assigns, to continue here in England, and the other of them now remaineth, and is to remain, in the hands and custody of the said Fenwicke, his heirs and assigns, to be transported and kept at New Cesarea or New Jersey aforesaid, Richard Guy and Richard Noble, having at the present, the keeping of two of the keys

"Upon special trust and confidence, nevertheless, in them, the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors, administrators, and assigns, and every of them, and to these intents and purposes, following, (that is to say), in the first place, that they the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors and administrators, out of such monies as

shall arise by one or several sales, assignment and conveyance, or sales, assignments, and conveyances, or otherwise, by under-lease or leases of all and singular the premises by the said lease devised, and granted, bargained or sold, or of any part or parcel thereof, do and shall reimburse, repay, and satisfy themselves of the said sum of one hundred and ten pounds and fifteen shillings, with interest for the same, after the rate aforesaid, and also reimburse, repay, and satisfy themselves, all such monies as they, or any, or either of them shall any way lay out, expend, or pay in, for, or towards the satisfaction of the several debts and sums of money in the schedule, in the said lease annexed mentioned, together with interest for the same, after the rate and according to the computation aforesaid; and also, shall reimburse and satisfy themselves of all such costs, charges, expenses, losses and damages whatsoever, which they or any or either of them shall any way pay, expend, lay out, suffer, or be put unto by reason of their intermeddling herein, or with the execution of the trust in the said lease contained or specified. And forward after such payment, reimbursement, and satisfaction fully made, as aforesaid, then as to the surplus of all such monies, as shall be so raised by such sale or sales, assignment or assignments, conveyance or conveyances, under lease, as aforesaid, they, the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors and administrators, and every of them shall be, and stand accountable, and make satisfaction thereof to the said Fenwicke, his executors and administrators, and to none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

"And that if the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors and administrators, shall not, or without their wilful default may not be fully satisfied of such monies, costs, charges, expenses, losses, and damages, as are in the said lease, agreed and appointed to be reimbursed, paid, and satisfied to the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors and administrators, within the space of two years next ensuing the date of the said lease, that the said Fenwicke, his heirs, executors, and administrators, or some or one of them, shall and will well and truly pay and satisfy the same, or so much thereof as shall then be behind, and not satisfied and reimbursed unto the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors or administrators, or to some

one of them.

"And thereupon the said Eldridge and Warner, for themselves, their executors and administrators, upon such payments and satisfaction so made, as aforesaid, shall, at the cost and charges of the said Fenwicke, his heirs and assigns, re-convey to him and them all and singular the premises aforesaid, by the said lease demised and granted, or such part, or so much thereof as shall then at the time of such re-conveyance be remaining unsold by them the said Eldridge and Warner.

"Lastly, it is declared and agreed by all the said parties to the lease, that nothing in the said lease contained, shall in any way be

taken, construed, adjudged, or expounded to compel or enforce the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors and administrators, either in law or equity, to pay or satisfy all or any of the said debts in the schedule to the said lease annexed, mentioned, or any tert thereof to the several persons therein named, or any of them; but that it is and shall be at the free and voluntary choice and election of the said Eldridge and Warner, their executors and administrators to pay and satisfy, or not pay or satisfy the same or any or either of them, anything in the said lease contained, to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

"Upon this deed, the case appears plainly to be-

"1st. That the estate in law, of the whole, was transferred to and vested in Eldridge and Warner.

"2d. That whosoever should purchase any part of the lands from them really and bona fide, should hold such purchase discharg-

ed of equity from Fenwicke.

"3d. That this lease was a trust from Fenwicke, as to the lands which should not be really and bona fide sold for the satisfaction of such monies as are mentioned in the lease; and because that this is the most considerable matter in the case, I think fit to lay down some reasons (among many others) for it.

"1st. The lease is made, to the intent, that Eldridge and Warner shall be reimbursed their monies, with interest and charges, and such monies as they shall pay to Fenwicke's creditors by sale or assignment &c., of the lands (which must still be intended of real and not of fraudulent sales purposely contrived to cheat Fenwicke). Now, if Eldridge and Warner be satisfied and reimbursed of all such monies by sale of part, what has become of the residue of the lands !- I take it very clear, that the residue is a tract for Fenwicke, and so it will be construed by any court of equity; for what Fenwicke did not dispose of to Eldridge and Warner, he kept to himself; I mean in point of equitable interest; and in equity what remains after the satisfaction of Eldridge and Warner belongs to Fenwicke.

"2d. If it were not a trust for Fenwicke after reimbursement and satisfaction to Eldridge and Warner, but an absolute sale both in law and equity, it may be demanded, to what purpose the deed expressed the payment of principal and interest to Eldridge and Warner, for when a man makes an absolute purchase, there is no expectation of being reimbursed his purchase money and interest, but only to have the lands absolutely, which for ought appears to the contrary, were ten times the value of all the monies that were to be reimbursed to

Eldridge and Warner.

"3d. If it had been an absolute sale to Eldridge and Warner, in equity as well as in law, what was the meaning of the clause that under purchasers should enjoy their purchases in equity against Fenwicke, for there need no such clause in an absolute sale; but indeed the lease being but in the nature of a mortgage to Eldridge and Warner, that clause was necessary, otherwise Fenwicke upon offer of payment of the monies due upon the mortgage, would, in a court of equity have evicted the purchaser's estates, as having notice of the

mortgage when they purchased.

"4th. By the deed, Eldridge and Warner were to be accountable to Fenwicke for the surplus of the monies made by sale to purchasers, after the payment and reimbursement of the monies appointed to be paid by deed; now if Fenwicke were to have an account of the monies, though but part of the lands were sold which raised it a fortiori he is to have the residue of the land unsold; and if it be said that Eldridge and Warner are to sell the land, and Fenwicke to have the money as the deed speaks; yet where a man is entrusted to sell land for me, and to pay me all the money (as the case of Fenwicke is by the deed, after the satisfaction of the monies appointed) I may at any time, before actual sale, revoke the trust, and by a court of equity compel the trustee to convey the land so trusted to myself; for that is equity; the trustee is no further concerned than as my servant, whose service therein I may countermand at my pleasure.

"5th. By the deed Fenwicke covenants, that if all the monies be not paid within two years he will pay the residue (and as it is said, hath tendered the same accordingly) and then Eldridge and Warner were to reconvey the lands unsold. Now, if this doth not make it a clear trust in the nature of a mortgage, the construction of it must needs be that Fenwicke must pay them the money, and yet they must keep the land gratis; the absurdity whereof is obvious, even to

common sense.

"6th. No one of common understanding can possibly interpret this to be an absolute sale, both in law and equity; for by the last clause in the deed, it is declared, that Eldridge and Warner shall not be bound to pay any of Fenwicke's debts, mentioned in the schedule, except they think fit voluntarily to pay the same. Now, if the lease should be absolute sales, Eldridge and Warner should keep the lands, and yet Fenwicke be bound to pay the debts himself, for Eldridge and Warner are not bound to pay them, which is contrary to the tenor of the whole deed, and to the intent of the parties (to my knowledge) for when the deed was made, it was declared by all parties that Eldridge and Warner should only be reimbursed and paid, as the deed speaks. But because Eldridge and Warner might have an opportunity of selling parcels, to purchasers in England, in the absence of Fenwicke, who was then going beyond the seas, the deed was drawn in this manner, that the real purchasers, that dealt with Eldridge and Warner might not scruple at the title, or their anthority to sell; this, then, was the intent of all parties by them declared; but whether they have changed their intents since, is to

me unknown: but this I know, that if Eldridge and Warner be satisfied, their money, interest and charges, if any be according to the deed, they have, in equity, no farther to do with the estate, which then, in equity, doth belong to Fenwicke and his heirs." EDWARD SAUNDERS.

JAMES GARFIELD, A Scrivener in Long-lane, near West Smithfield.

SAMUEL GEE,

Clerk to Mr. Saunders. at the Inner Temple.

ANTHONY LOCKEY,

Clerk to Mr. Pigeon, of Gray's Inn.

July 24th, 1677.

We now proceed to state Fenwicke's defence, which is as follows, viz:-

"Nova Cæsarea, ss."

"THE REMONSTRANCE and declaration by John Fenwicke, Esquire, one of the Lords or Chief Proprietors of the said proprietary, and particularly of Fenwicke's Colony, lying within the same. Sen-

deth, greeting:-

"Whereas, it cannot be denied, but owned and acknowledged by all that have been and are concerned with me, both in England and here in America, that I bought, with my own money, (besides my great expenses and care,) of John, Lord Berkley, one of the late and absolute Lord Proprietors of the said province, all his royalties in as full and ample manner as James, Duke of York, had granted unto him, as by his deed of the 18th day of March, 1673-4, upon record

both in England and within the said colony, appeareth.

"That afterwards, to wit, for the sake of God's own blessed truth, and for my own outward peace, more than for any other obligation which either law or equity could compel me to, I was persuaded by William Penn, to reserve the tenth part of my said justly purchased interest to me, my heirs and assgins for ever, (in hopes to have peaceably and quietly enjoyed the same for a colony,) and to sell the other nine parts to him, the said William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, their heirs and assigns, for £900, as by the deed triparte thereof, likewise upon record appeareth.

"Notwithstanding many illegal practices and designs (which are too many now to mention, because at this time I design brevity) have been perpetrated, and most runiously carried on against me and my said interest, by these men and their abettors, in order to the ruining of me, my family, and all those that, in simplicity, embarked

with me, and claimed lands under me, within said colony.

"That by means of such unchristian perplexities, my person has been several times assaulted, my life often and greatly endangered by forcing a gun, laden with many swan shot, within four yards of my breast, and a pistol discharged, with two bullets, within two or three feet of my neck; after, my house was beset, my door broken open, and my person siezed on in the night-time by armed men sent to execute a paper order of the Governor of New York, to whom I was sent prisoner, in the depth of winter, by sea—his order being to bring me dead or alive;—where he tried me, himself being judge, keeping me imprisoned for the space of two years and about three months,—albeit that it was not, nor could not be proved that I had broken any of the King's laws.

"During which time, John Eldridge, Edmund Warner, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, Edward Billinge, and Richard Hartshorne of the Temple, Councellor at law, (who lately was executed for treason,) combined together to cheat me of my whole estate, as by the said Langhorne's letter, under his hand, which I have ready to be produced, having therein, as it were, buried me alive; so that my name was never to be used in theirs, nor my own concerns

aforesaid.

"That Gawen Lawrie sent or delivered the aforesaid letter to James Bass, who being in my colony, caused it to be read to all the inhabitants, and it was published afterwards by Richard Guy, throughout the said provinces; in and by which their notorious treacheries and deceit was proclaimed, as well as I was considered naked (for having no estate or interest either in land or goods,) as an oak leaf. Upon the reading and publishing of the said most shameful letter, James Bass and Richard Guy began vigorously to seize upon my said colony, causing the same to be surveyed by Richard Hancock, (my sworn surveyor-general) without my knowledge, albeit they knew, or might have known, that I purchased the Indian interest thereof, at my own just charge, of all or most parts of the land which lieth between a creek beyond Cohanzick, to Oldman's Creek, called by the natives Masucksey.

"And further, to the end that they might enjoy this their unparralleled fraud, the said confederates, or some of them, wrote many letters to Richard Guy, and other three agents at Burlington, to use all their care and industry to keep and improve this their illgotten interest in my said colony, and so dispose thereof as by their orders.

"And in pursuance thereof, Richard Guy, Edward Wade, Edmund Bradway, and James Nevell have done what they could to promote the same (under the pretext of the said Governors commission, which was for one year, or until further order, and since the expiration thereof, which was in the eighth month last,) by hindering me from disposing of my land and governing the people according to my legal authority, and the government established within this province, which can no wise be legally altered but by the Lords or Chief Proprietors, their council and assembly, summoned by their authority; and thus all that are concerned will, in time, be forced to acknowledge and

submit to, before the confusion which is now among us can be appeased, and those great and many enormities which it hath produced be swept away, for thereby the name and blessed truth of God has been and is blasphemed. And all that owns and professeth the same is become a scorn and hissing to the common people (nay even the natives) who are more righteous in their dealings and love to one another, than those who know and professeth the truth; but by their deeds, (which are not warrantable neither by the laws of God nor the king,) do wilfully rebel against, which is a grief and burden to my soul, and the souls of those who groan within, in, and under the sense That it hath pleased our merciful and almighty God, now, at last, to instigate the people of Burlington to stand up and oppose the power that has hitherto obstructed the settlement of this part of the said province, upon the true basis of the said power and government which is and ought to be within the whole province, as its entire right, and they have met, as I am given to understand, and appointed the 25th - month, in order to their settlement; nevertheless they seem to be in pursuit of those unwarrantable and illegal conspirators of justice, (which was to rob me of my just right and property, in which the people are concerned also,) having, as it were, to attend them at the trial and place appointed, as if my said colony and people therein were to be subjected under them, and led by the concessions of their own controversies, which is contrary to law, royalty and good conscience, the customs of all foreign plantations, and the said government established within this province, and so has been all the said former proceedings against me, as will be proved to the shame of all that have had a hand therein.

"For proof of which, I desire all sober men further to consider what the known and established laws of England saith—I mean Magna Charta—which has been confirmed by above thirty-two Parliaments, and the 29th chapter runs thus: "No man shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized of his freehold, or titles or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or merchandize destroyed, nor shall the King pass or send upon him, nor condemn him but by lawful judges, or by his equals, or by the laws of the land-we shall set to no man's nod,

shall deny or defer to no man either justice or right."

"This law is the rule of every just judge; his line, his measure, his weight, his yard, his balance; it is called right itself, and common law because it judgeth common right by a right line, which is the

judge of itself.

"Now where is the judgement, where is the sentence, or decree by virtue of this law that has condemned me to die, or to have no society among these men, in this affair, nor to enjoy my own property? Where is the sentence, by this law, that has taken from me my property, justly purchased, right, title and interest, and divested me of all my freeholds, liberty and free enjoyments? Where is the decree to be found, grounded upon the said law, that doth declare that my

whole estate pretence whereof the said John Eldridge and Edmund Warner wished to secure themselves £170 15s., and pay my other debts as by the deed of mortgage and trust (which Councillor Saunders saith, in his case, under his hand, witnesseth by five sufficient witnesses, is proved,) is Eldridge's credit, Warner's, and not mine, which neither law or equity consider. Because, firstly, They never paid anything for it; for the account mentioned in the deed was not stated by them, as they promised me before I executed the said deed, that I might sign the same to them, and they likewise to me. Secondly, That the debts which they undertook to pay out of the said sum, remaining in their hands for that purpose, they never yet made it appear that they paid the same, nor did they ever pay me the said sum of £100 15s., any otherwise. And thirdly, They sold not one foot of my land to pay any of my debts mentioned in the said security by John Eldridge in his confessions before many witnesses; but made a fraudulent deed of my temporalities (those 140,000 acres were excepted out of the security given William Penn, as aforesaid,) to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, in consideration of twenty shillings, to cheat me, (as the Councillor Saunders saith, further in his case.) Besides, they have received (by virtue of a letter of attorney, which I gave them for their further security) £119 out of £451, which they should have received for me, and as yet never gave me any account of. Oath is made thereof, in chancery, where they refuse to answer and give me a just account (that so it might have been, or now, determined for me or for them,) because they pretend they cannot swear, while their consciences have been and are so large as to endeavour all along to cheat, circumvent and go beyond me; and that with open face, thinking to weary me and all that any wise assist me, and so to ruin me and mine out of all we have, by boasting of their great purses, and multitudes of their confederates with them, in these their hellish designs. But I doubt not of their being disappointed and frustrated in their hopes, as that their grand jesuitical Councillor Langhorne was. For the righteous God, whose wrath has been revealed from heaven, in all ages, against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, neither slumbers nor sleepsneither doth the aforesaid law, for the breakers or alterers thereof have been generally punished, by the execution of forty-four unjust judges, under one king, and many more since, under others. And for any to alter the established laws, in any part, by force, is judged by Parliament to be high treason, as also, if any go about to subvert them, is likewise noted high treason.

"Forasmuch, therefore, as law, equity and good conscience, the same government and customs of this and other provinces, every way plead for my just right, title, interest and present possession of this my colony, I do henceforth resolve, and do hereby declare, that I will assume my said lawful and absolute power and authority, desiring all the King's loving, peaceable and obedient subjects, and in his

majesty's name, do hereby will and require them, and every of them inhabiting within my said colony, to take notice therefore, and to yield obedience hereunto. For it is invested in me, by virtue of his majesty's letters patent, here exemplified, and the great seal of England, granted at my request, according to law, to justify my said interest; which I derive from the said Duke of York, granted to John, Lord Berkley, and the said Lord Berkley's grant to me. So that no man can claim any right to any part of the said Lord Berkley's late

interest, but what they claim under me, as aforesaid.

"And accordingly, I will put my said power and authority in execution, in settling the grievances within my said colony, according to that government which has been and is observed and settled within the said province, and to govern his majesty's subjects according to the concessions and laws established by the said John, Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. And I shall and will forthwith choose a council, and issue forth my precept, (with their advice) to call an assembly, to sit within my colony, that it may be settled, and the peoples' rights and properties preserved, together with the public And thereby suppress or prevent all mutinies, insurrections and confusion. That so we may be in a capacity to associate with other of his majesty's plantations, our neighbour provinces and colonies, against his majesty's and our public enemies, whenever they attempt to disturb our peace. Given under my hand at Fenwicke's Ivy, the twelfth day of the first month, commonly called March, in the 31st year of the reign of the king, and the year 1678-9."

"FENWICKE."*

I am inclined to think, that after Fenwicke had published, to the people of his proprietary, this remonstrance and declaration, that it had such an exciting effect on the public mind, that Governor Andros was induced to arrest, send, and detain him a prisoner in New York, lest, in all probability, the friends of Fenwicke might proceed

* It is probable that other valuable papers, bearing upon this controversy, were deposited in the office at Salem, as carried away, and never returned, as would appear from the Court records of our County.

"The Grand Jury of Salem, say at December term, 1712." "Whereas, some years ago, the Grand Jury of the County of Salem, made application that the records should be delivered to Mr. Basse, to be bound and put in order, and then returned to the County again; but we understanding that the records are not bound, nor returned to our County, we humbly make application to your Worships, that speedy care should be taken that the said records may be again brought to our County, and here to be bound, and kept for the good and benefit of the public."

(Signed) WILLIAM CLOWS, Freeman.

The conduct of Secretary Basse, in withholding the public records, evinced a destitution of public honesty; and we have a right to conclude that some important benefit accrued to him or his friends, to the injury of the friends and relatives of Fenwicke.—But, in those days, the commands of those wealthy Proprietors, appear to have superceded law and right.

to open acts of violence against his oppressors, here; for be it remembered, that about this time, there had been from eighty to one hundred warrants issued, for the surveying of lands to individual settlers, and many of them had erected houses on their settled locations, shortly after their arrival at Salem. And it cannot be supposed that they would look on with indifference and see the title of their premises put in jeopardy, which they had bought and paid for-when by remaining indifferent spectators, they might be ordered to depart or buy their title over again.

Andros sent an armed force to Salem, with orders to his men to bring John Fenwicke, dead or alive. When the men came here, they found him in the house, with the doors fastened. The soldiery broke them open-fired a pistol at him-and would have killed him had he not surrendered unto them. He was then put on board of a vessel and conveyed to New York, by sea, in the depth of winter, and there confined a prisoner for two years and near three months, by the mandate of that cruel tyrant: who, if there be a shadow of truth in our colonial history, stands the most conspicuous as the oppressor of of our early settlers.*

*[The author appears to have overlooked the fact, that there were two imprisonments of Fenwicke, by Andros, the first of which occurred previous of the time of which he is here treating. The documents, with which he has himself furnished the Society, and which are printed in the "Proceedings" of the Society, Vol. II, pp 8-21, give the following details .-

December 5th, 1675. An order, was issued by the New York Authorities, adverse to any claim that might be advanced by Fenwicke, as Proprietor on the Delaware, but he and his company were to be allowed to take up land, &c., according to the rules and regulations prescribed for others.

November, 1676. Andros wrote to the Commander and Justices of Newcastle, that Fenwicke having refused obedience to his special warrant, as appeared from their letter to him of the 8th of that month, he was to be sent forthwith to New York.

In accordance with the directions, the Commander, on December the 4th, 1676, sent to Fenwicke, who refused to obey the behest of Andros. The Commander therefore, on the 7th, went in person and had a conference with the Proprietor, with no better success. Whereupon, a sufficient force, under a Lieutenant, was, on the 8th, authorized to proceed to Fenwicke's house, and take him prisoner; full power being given them to pull down, break, destroy and kill, if necessary, to effect their object.

Fenwicke was consequently taken to New York, and remained there a prisoner until August, 1677,-refusing to gratify Andros by making any concessions-when he was allowed to return to West Jersey, on parole, until October 6th. He then gave himself up again at New York, but not being required to remain there, returned to Salem.

On May 9th, 1678. The Court at Newcastle again took cognizance of Fenwicke's proceedings, and they being thought contrary to the agreement, which it was alleged he had entered into, respecting the exercise of authority on the Delaware, the Council at New York, on the 22d, issued an order for him to forbear assuming the government, and in case of his persisting requiring his presence at New York. This being communicated to Fenwicke on June 3d, met with a prompt refusal from him the following It is evident that this combination of untoward circumstances, with the wealth and influence of his opponents, proved too great for Fenwicke (standing alone) to resist, and he was, in part, compelled to

vield to them.

After his return from captivity, being indebted to Governor Penn, he conveyed to him by deed, dated 1st of March 1682, the moiety of his proprietary, which he originally purchased from John, Lord Berkley, and excepting and reserving therefrom, to himself, his heirs and assigns for ever, all that tract of country which was called Fenwicke's colony, containing, as was supposed, 150,000 acres. The

clause in the deed being as tollows :-

"Excepting and always foreprised out of this grant, to the said John Fenwicke, his heirs and assigns, the quantity of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, in the tract of land called Fenwicke's colony, being part and parcel of the aforesaid tenth, with powers and privileges henceforth to hold and keep Court-leets and Courtbarons, under the government of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, in such part thereof where he hath not already granted and alienated the power of so doing, together with all the rents, issues and profits thereof; in consideration whereof, the said John Fenwicke, his heirs and assigns, shall pay unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, yearly, forever, two buckskins, on the twentyninth day of September, in every year, if lawfully demanded; together with all royalties, powers, rescripts and muniments whatsoever, excepting which partly relates to the before excepted and foreprised lands, touching and concerning the said premises, or any part or parcel of them."

Fenwicke being thus at liberty to exercise his authority over his

proprietary, granted a commission in the following words.-

"To Erick Yearnens, of Finn's-town Hook."

"Whereas, thou hast subscribed allegiance to our sovereign lord, the King, &c., and faithfulness to me, and give the same under thy hand, in obedience to the late absolute Lord Proprietor's concessions. I therefore judge thee fit, and think it convenient to confer upon thee the office of Reve, or Bailiff, within my said colony, for one whole year from the day of the date hereof, unless I see cause to alter or null this my commission, order and warrant. And accordingly, these

day,—but he was subsequently prevailed upon to comply with the requisition. He was taken to Newcastle, and sent to New York by land July 14th. The precise time of his return to Salem, or in what way the difficulty was got over, does not appear; but on October 28th, of the same year, Andros again issued an order prohibiting Fenwicke from disturbing the inhabitants on the Delaware, under any pretence whatever.

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are to authorize and empower thee to execute the said office within that tract of land which shall be hereafter called the hundred and manor of West Fenwicke, as it is situate, lying and being within my said colony, and is butted and bounded as follows, that is to say: From the mouth of Fenwicke river, and so running up along the same: and from thence in a straight line, as near as may be, by the bounds of the 10,000 acres, lately set out for the said Thomas Pile and his trustees, extending to Masucksey or Oldman's Creek, which is now and hereafter to be called Berkley River; and so down the same as it runs into Delaware river; and so down the said Delaware river, to the mouth of the said Fenwicke's river, which was hereafter likewise called, by the natives, Game Creek. And that thou dost well and truly execute and serve within thy said bailiwick, all such my summons, orders and warrants, which shall be directed, by myself or my steward of the said Court, and to make due returns thereof accordingly, from time to time; and thou art, severally, likewise authorized and required to have and receive and take of the inhabitants, within the said jurisdiction, all such fees as legally belong unto the said office, for the legal serving of such summonses, orders and warrants, or otherwise, according to the customs of other manories within his Majesty's realm of England.

"And I do hereby, in his Majesty's name, will and require all and every person inhabiting within the said bailiwick, and by virtue of his Majesty's power and authority which is vested in me, strictly to charge and command them, and every of them, to own this my commission and authority, and yield their ready obedience unto which thou legally require of them, and which also thou legally dost do in the execution of thy said office; and for so doing, this shall be thine

and their warrant.

"Given under my hand and seal, this eighth day of the Fourth month, commonly called June, at Fenwicke's Grove, in the year 1682."

He also issued his summons to the Dutch, Finns and Swedes, requiring them to come before him at his house at Salem, and make known their claims to the lands they occupied, (in the following words)—

By John Fenwicke, the surviving absolute Lord or Chief Proprie-

tor of the Province, &c., &c.

"Whereas, I have been from the time of my arrival until now, not only most shamefully and arbitrarily obstructed in the settling of my colony, but also my purchasers, planters and inhabitants therein, have been greatly discouraged and hindered in the improvement and settling of their several and particular tracts and plantations, as well as myself in improving the whole, to our great damage and loss; for the rectifying thereof, it is now acknowledged by all considerate and reasonable men, that, by law, there can be no other Lord or Chief

Proprietor than myself, unless that those who have arbitrarily pretended a right thereto can first legally eject me out of the same, which they never yet attempted to do, having neither law, equity nor good conscience, to warrant them therein; for the principal debt they claim, they never did pay me, nor can ever prove that they paid it to any assignee of mine; but thereby designed to cheat me both out of my land and money, as appears further by their wilful refusing to engross the account (mentioned) in their own contrived deed of trust and mortgage, that it might have been signed by me to them, and by them to me, (before the sealing of the said deed,) and the letter of attorney which they likewise gained from me as collateral security. And further, (for their extented debt of £110 15s.) by virtue thereof, they were to receive, in debt owing to me, £451, and out of which they have received to their own use £119, and hath refused to come to an account, judging that all my said estate is theirs, and I their slave forever, as they have made it evidently to appear by their rebelling against the King's high Court of Chancery, their many great and horrid lies, with all their arbitrary and treasonable practices, which they and their abettors have published and put in execution from time to time against me and all claiming under me; by which his Majesty's subjects have been driven into confusion, and from the obedience to the King's letters patents, his known and established laws, and the concessions, laws, and government thereupon established for the said province, by the late absolute Lord Proprietor, and contrary to his Majesty's letter of obedience, which was published by Captain Johnsbury, their Deputy Governor, wherein the said government was owned, and his Majesty's English subjects, as well as foreigners, were required to be obedient thereunto, as in and by the same being upon record doth at large appear; all which their said acting has been and is contrary to the peace of our Sovereigh Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

These are therefore now after divers summonses, and I do think fit once more to will and require Fopp-hout-out, Michael Barrowne, Lucas Pictures, John Erickson, and all other the Dutch, Finns, Swedes, and foreigners, who are inhabitants within my manor of East Fenwicke, in my said colony; and, in his Majesty's name, to charge and command them, and every of them, to come and appear before me, at my house near New Salem, upon Monday, by nine of the clock in the forenoon, being the 26th day of this instant, Fourth month; to the end that they may enter their several claims, and make known their several titles to the lands they plant, so that they may be settled according to the said concessions, so far as law and equity will warrant the same, in order to the settling of my said colony with all convenient speed, according to the said government, whereby they and every of them may approve themselves to be his Majesty's loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, in obedience to his Majesty's Commissioners proclamation, in the year 1664, as well as others his Majesty's English subjects. And herein they, nor any of them are to fail, as they will answer their contempt by being proceeded against as enemies to the King, and his public peace of the said province and colony, and that with due severity, according to law.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Fenwicke's Grove, the eighth

day of the Fourth month, called June, in the year 1682.

"By JOHN FENWICKE, Esq., Pro."

Perhaps it may be interesting to know the names of some of those Swedes, who were the earliest settlers of a part of Salem County,—They were as follows: Matt. Nealson, Katt. Nealson, Peter Dulson, Stephen Yearnens, Laus Hendrickson, Matt. Sparkleson, Erick Yearnens, John Erickson, Matt. Janson, Andrew Anderson, Laus Cornelinson, Ann Hendrickson, Andrew Sinecker (now Sinneckson,) Hance Sheidhell, Claus Janson, Wooley Woolson, Barbara Halton, Peter Halton and Andrew Barklyson: Eric Gili Johnson's and Andrew Sinnickson's descendants are, to this day, among the most reputable citizens of the County of Salem.

Fenwicke without doubt, was a man of high courage, and keen sensibility of honor, and during the short space of time he was allowed, by Providence, to reside upon his estate, his life was no better to him than a distressing burden: To be harrassed by his creditors-deceived by those in whom he had placed confidence as his friends—cheated out of much of his property—arrested as a felon-thrown into prison-and to be detained there to gratify the whim of a cruel and vindictive tyrant—was quite enough to drive a man of less nerve than John Fenwicke, perfectly crazy. Yet, of all his misfortunes, cruelties and troubles he had undergone, none appeared to rack his soul more than an unnatural connection formed by one of his grand-daughters,* which completely broke down the spirits of her aged grandfather; and soon after that event was known, he was taken to his bed, and after a short but severe illness-death, like a welcome messenger, came and released him from all his troubles. He died December, 1683, aged about 65 years-poor and

^{*} Elizabeth Adams had formed a connection with a negro man, whose name was Gould; notwithstanding the poignancy produced by the unnatural and base act of his grand-daughter—still the yearnings of parental nature took deep hold upon Fenwick's feelings—and in his will, he promised her his forgiveness should the "Lord open her eyes to see her abominable transgressions, against him, (me) her grandfather, and her poor father, by giving her true repentance; and forsaking that black that had been the ruin of her." But she loved her dark-coloured companion better than kindred and lands, and being degraded in the estimation of her acquaintances she stuck to him for weal or wo; and from that illicit connection arose a settlement of people in the County of Cumberland, called Gould-town, after the name of her paramour.

broken-hearted. The inventory and appraisement of his personal

property amounting only to £20 9s. 8d.

Fenwicke, by his will, appointed and constituted Governor Penn, the guardian of his favourite grand-sons, viz: Fenwicke Adams, Samuel Hedge, Jr., and John Champneys, to the exclusion of their own fathers. He was also one of his executors, in conjunction with John Smith, of Smithfield, Samuel Hedge,* of Hedgefield, and Richard Tindall, of Tindall's bower. During the nonage of these three grand-sons, his Executors were empowered, by said will, to sell and dispose of what quantity of land they could, for the payment of his debts; they did so, and many people of these counties have derived, remotely, the title to their lands from these executors.

After the death of Fenwicke, his Executors closed the contract entered into between him and Penn, as appears from the following

agreement.—

"Several things discoursed of to be agreed upon between William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania and territories, and Samuel Hedge, John Smith and Richard Tindall, Executors of Mr. John Fenwicke.—That the said William Penn being Proprietor, by conveyance or deed, from the said John Fenwicke, may from time to time take up land, and dispose of land for the planting and improving or the colony, providing, always, that the heirs and assigns of the said John Fenwicke have the reserved number of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, that the same may from time to time be taken up, planted, or disposed of for the use appointed by his will, for that purpose; that the said Samuel Hedge, John Smith and Richard Tindall, do condescend to, that the said William Penn, get the neck between Salem creek and Old-man's creek, so far as the same is unsold or disposed of by John Fenwicke, shall be and is hereby allotted to be disposed of or settled by William Penn, from time to time, for the royalties of such lands as are disposed of, he making full reprise for the same; that John Smith agreeth to resign his 500 acres in the town for 500 acres elsewhere, in the same jurisdiction, referring to him a double town lot, each lot being fiteen acres;-the remainder to be common, until taken, by warrants, as town lotsexcept sixty acres for a town and a commandechant to the Proprietor, William Penn.-That the lot already laid out, before the first day of the eighth month ensuing the date hereof, be settled by others paying the value of the said lots, as it is adjudged in open Court, that there

^{*} The Quit Rent roll of Samuel Redge, the son in law of John Fenwicke, for lands in Ramsneck, on 18,159 acres, amounted to 82 bushels of wheat, 13 hens, 20 shad, and one shilling—on his Salemtown lands, for 294 acres to 10½ bushels of wheat, and one hen, with eggs.

may be a general warrant granted by the said William Penn, to the surveying the tenth, enabling him to resurvey all tracts completed, as of more than may be coming to his agent, for the time being.

Dated Salem, 13th, 2d month, 1684.

(Signed)
(Witnesses)
Arthur Cook,
James Nevell.

WILLIAM PENN, SAMUEL HEDGE, JOHN SMITH, RICHARD TINDALL.

I must now notice Fenwicke's mode of managing his family affairs, and of his two farms in England, which he had cultivated under his immediate direction and that of his overseers. The names by which the farms were distingbished, were those of Brockham and Worminghurst; and he adopted a system of particularity and strict economy in his agricultural affairs which is at this day well worthy of imitation, not only by farmers, but also by all house-keepers. He was scrupulously exact in noting down every sum which he received or paid away, from a pound to a penny. He kept a regular account of the stock appropriated to the farms at Brockham and Worminghurst, which were worked partly under his direction and of the different overseers he had to conduct them.

His principal estate at Stanton he had leased out to Colonel Nicholas Fenwicke, his cousin, for the sum of four hundred and forty-five pounds per annum.

In his book he charges money laid out and expended for the house at Worminghurst—where I am inclined to think his family usually resided—for culinary articles and provisions, even down to a charge for a pound of suet which cost four pence.

His particularity was very observable in his purchases of different kinds of cattle. In buying of horses he notes the price paid, the color of the animals, and their imperfections. So of his cows: he describes their colors, and notes down the price paid for them. In the purchase of his cattle for grazing, the price is set down, and when they are sold to the butcher they are described, particularly of such whose weights were under 350 lbs. These cattle he denominates Runts.

So in his field expenses: he charges the amount expended in cutting, curing and stacking (say) of one hundred tons of hay. An account was kept of the expense of harvesting a field of wheat—then the particulars in getting out the grain. The laborers were paid by the bushel for threshing, cleaning, and putting into the granary. The

sheaves were all counted previous to being threshed, the wheat cleaned and accurately measured, and then a certain quantity laid by for family consumption. The like method was pursued with respect to other grain. A charge is made for getting peat—the amount paid to laborers, and the kind of work which they performed—ditching and draining being paid by the rod—and money paid to the hired women and the nurse having charge of the children is particularly designated. Expenses at fairs, and when he was attending the sessions at the house of Arundel, and public meetings, are also mentioned.

On one visit to London, he made the following purchases for the clothes of his wife and Betty, (his daughter):—"Stuff for gown and 2 coats, and 12 yards of searge, at 4s. 3d. per yard; 20 yards of gold and silver lace at 4s. 6d. per yard; paid Taylor for making the gound and coat for Betty; one piece of dimity; a knife, 3 combs, thread, needles, and other things; a pair of bodices for Betty; cakes for

the children, four pence-amounting to £11 4s. 3d."

He had invited his friend and relative, Colonel Nicholas Fenwicke, to dine with him, and the following named articles were purchased and prepared for the dinner—to wit: A shoulder of venison, 2 couple of rabbits, one joint of veal, one peck of turnips, and one peck of carrots—am't 9s. 4d.

It appears from his memoranda that the moles were very troublesome in his lands; for I find that he paid the mole catcher for destroying 3 dozen and 4 moles, at 1s. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d; 600 cab-

bage plants are charged at 1s. 6d, per dozen.

At what I have stated of the peculiar and methodical habits of Fenwicke in all his money concerns, many persons may be inclined to smile; but, be it remembered, that it is from such unremitted attention to method in business, and strict formality in noting down every penny, that pounds are made and accumulated. And if people generally were to keep an exact account of all their outgoings as well as incomings, in a few years there would scarcely be any occasion for insolvent laws. They would become dead letters, and soon be forgotten. The want of such precision and method in every kind of business, and the prevalence of carelessness and indifference to punctuality and forms, have been the awful source of ruin to very many families.

I will here mention a most worthy trait of benevolence in the character of Fenwicke in confirmation of the goodness of his heart. It was this. He had a female domestic in his family by the name of Mary White, who had resided with him more than twenty years in England,

before he embarked for America. She was employed as a nurse for the children, and continued in that capacity until they were about to leave their native country. Having contracted a great affection for the members of his family, she resolved to accompany them across the ocean, and continue her motherly care over all that were committed to her charge. When they arrived at Salem, she had the sole superintendance of the family affairs, took charge of the dairy, and attended to the entire management of the agricultural business—the farm being about seven miles from the town of Salem, Fenwicke's own residence being in the town, and it being only occasionally that he rode out to his manor, as he called it. It was on this last visit to his farm that he was seized with the sickness which terminated his existence. Fenwicke, to remunerate her for her unremitted attention to his domestic affairs, and her affectionate regard for his family, devised to her in his will 500 acres of land.

Nor must I omit to mention a sure evidence of a forgiving disposition, as shown by his virtual retraction of the suspicion he had conceived of the partiality or unfairness of Penn in the award rendered by him in favor of Edward Billinge—when by the last act of his public life, he most solemnly testified to the purity of the motive which governed Penn on that occasion. And such confidence did he repose in that highly esteemed man, that in his will he appointed him, as has been stated, guardian of his three grandsons to the exclusion of their own fathers, and also to be one of his executors.

This confidence in the integrity of Penn, by the man who, but a few years before, had his friendship alienated from him, (perhaps through misconception of his motives,) bespeaks a truly exalted sense of refined honor—the true spirit of the Christian being exemplified in the forgiveness of a real or supposed injury.

We are not without other evidence of the religious feelings and dispositions of Fenwicke. We can form a much better opinion of the piety of a man when we see him in all the sincerity of his heart pouring out the effusions of his soul before his Maker in the retirement of his closet, than when mixing in the assemblies of the multitude.

Fenwicke was an attentive hearer, and a member (before he joined the Quaker sect,) in full standing in the Independent Church, of which the Rev. Mr. Goodwin was the pastor, as has been stated, and appears to have been in the habit of taking notes of such parts of the discourses as struck him most forcibly. He noted the subject on hearing the Rev. Mr. Hedges preach, which was "God's majesty and glory—and Moses's admiration of God's excellency and majesty"; and notices a

discourse wherein he thinks John Goodwin transcends the general current of the present divines, and differs from them in four points.

Then again—"The mystery of God in redemption"—"A Sabbath meditation," read July 26, 1642. Then "A Christian man's properties or gift of God's spirit." Then "Most heavenly notes and meditations, now that Christ is the divine son of God." Then "Profitable observations for the bettering of our apprehensions in the reading of Mr. Brightman upon the Revelations."

John Goodwin, pastor of the Church of which Fenwicke was a member, was a most acute and subtle controversialist of the 17th century, and one of the most prominent leaders of what were called "the Fifth Monarchy men." He wrote a vindication of the death of Charles 1st,

which, at the Restoration, was burnt by the common hangman. He was excepted out of the act of indemnity, and died soon after. His works were numerous, and mostly in support of Armenian doctrines.

Thus have I endeavored to lift from oblivion the life and character of John Fenwicke, once the Lord or chief Proprietor of "Salem tenth." In my estimation, the man deserves to be placed by the side of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, for their merits and sufferings were remarkably similar. They appear to have been congenial spirits. Their views of colonizing this new world, of laws, religion, and politics, were precisely similar: so were they in their intercourse, their treaties, and friendly dealings with the Indians, the same. In the Proprietary of Fenwicke's colony no murder was ever committed by an Indian upon a white man; nor was there ever a murder committed by a white man upon an Indian. Both these great men had to submit to numberless vexatious impositions and injustice practised upon them by the very people whom they in their deeply matured plans of philanthropy and colonization designed should be in all their generations benefited.

There was also a marked similarity in the various occurrences which happened to them from the middle to the close of their lives. As Penn was brought up in the forms of the Episcopal Church, and instructed in the creed and liturgy thereof, until at mature age he attached himself to the Quakers, and not long afterwards became one of their prominent leaders, so Fenwicke, after leaving the army, withdrew from the Independents, and united himself to the same sect.

Penn had long been revolving in his mind the design of removing with his family and all the friends he could influence to this then western wilder ass, and become the founder of a peaceful colony, the

principles of which were the repudiation of all wars and strifes of every kind, and establishment of strict rules for the administration of impartial justice to the settlers and their descendants in all time to come.

Fenwick entertained similar religious and philanthropic sentiments. He invited all the honest, industrious, and most useful citizens he could find to accompany him hither, that they might enjoy the blessings of freedom, remote from the tyranny and oppression of the Old World, and establish a government which should secure to every one his liberty, property, and religious opinion, and be exempt from military conscriptions.

Penn was thrice thrust into a prison in England, and there detained a considerable time for preaching, defending, and publishing his opinions upon religious subjects, and against such sentiments as were then prevalent, and which he thought were not in accordance with the truth of the Gospel.

Fenwicke, in the year 1666, when attending a religious meeting of Quakers in Buckinghamshire, was taken by the order of Renold Burden, a priest, and sent to Ailsbury jail, and in 1670, when attending a religious meeting of Quakers at Bracknell, in Berkshire, he was fined 5 shillings by Priest Humphrey Hides, his goods seized amounted to eleven shillings, and he was again sent to jail; and in Salem was arrested by an armed force, carried from his house to New York, and there most cruelly imprisoned by the mandate of Governor Andros, as has been stated.

Penn was most cruelly and unjustly deprived of the revenues which were his just due from his extensive possessions in his proprietary of Pennsylvania, by persons both here and in England having power and authority. Fenwicke was abused, ill-treated, and finally cheated out of the greater part of his property in his proprietary of Salem tenth, by persons in whom he had placed the greatest confidence.

Penn had the wife of his bosom to console him in his last and dying hours; but not so Fenwicke. The partner of his life was far away from him: the waves of the Atlantic rolled between them. He yielded up his spirit in the presence of his faithful nurse, Mary White and his other domestics.

May we not charitably believe that the similarity of their fortunes may have been carried out in death, and that they both left the earth resigned, and in anticipation of a rest forever in the glories of the upper world?

TRIAL OF JOHN WILKES.

[The following letters were received from Colonel Robt. G. Johnson; and although they do not refer directly to topics of American history, are thought of sufficient interest and importance to be made public

through this channel.

They were written by William Strahan, the friend and correspondent of Franklin, to David Hall, of Philadelphia, with whom at one time Dr. Franklin was associated in the printing business. Strahan (as has been already stated in this Periodical, Vol. I. p. 109,) was printer to the King; and his talents, character, and influence subsequently raised him to a seat in Parliament. In these letters he gives an account of the trials of John Wilkes, describing the scenes of which he was an eye witness, and presenting the points at issue in a lucid manner, so that the reader cannot fail to secure, by their perusal, a better knowledge of the events referred to than he previously possessed.

The circumstances leading to Wilkes's trial, &c., may be briefly stated, to obviate the necessity of reference to a history, should they need to be recalled. He was editor of the paper entitled the North Briton, and in April, 1763, in No. 45 commented on the King's speech, which had just been delivered, in such terms as to lead to the issuing of a general warrant for the arrest of the authors, printers and publishers of that paper. Wilkes was apprehended, but refused to answer any interrogations, on the ground of illegality of such warrants. He was committed to the Tower—subsequently brought out by a writ of habeas corpus, and discharged by Chief Justice Pratt, of the Common Pleas, who declared his objection to the warrant valid—at least so far as Wilkes was concerned, he being a member of Parliament.

The publication of the offensive paper was continued from a press established in his own house, and he also published a blasphemous and obscene poem, called "An Essay on Woman," with which he connected the name of Bishop Warburton in a most unbecoming manner. The subject became one of great national importance. It was brought before Parliament. Its mandates were unheeded by Wilkes, on account of illness, he having been wounded in a duel, and he finally went to the Continent. It is at this point that Mr. Strahan's

first letter comes in, referring to the events which occurred on the opening of Parliament in January, 1764, after a recess.]

Mr. Strahan to Mr. Hall.

LONDON, JANUARY 20, 1764.

As I was present during the whole debate yesterday, regarding Mr. Wilkes, in the House of Commons, I will endeavor to give you the substance of it, in which I shall be as clear and distinct as I can.

It began about five o'clock, and was opened by reading a letter from Mr. Wilkes to the Speaker, endeavoring to excuse his return, from his bad state of health, the truth of which is attested by three French surgeons, whose attestations were annexed. Then Dr. Brockelsby, Dr. Heberdon, and Mr. Greeve, surgeon, were examined as to the state of his wound when he left England, &c. The substance of their evidence was as follows: That the wound, though in a fair way of cure, was not so well as to make it prudent in him to venture on such a journey; that his going then from London to Paris in that condition made it highly probable that he would be thereby disabled from returning to London by this day; that he gave them no intimation that he was going to France, nor mentioned any thing of the illness of his daughter; that he talked only of going into the country for a few days, and took a quantity of dressings with him for that time; but as to the condition of his wound now, as they had not lately seen it, they could say nothing, only that had he remained in England he would have doubtless been now able to attend the House.

Then a motion was made that, as Mr. Wilkes did not attend in his place, but had, in contempt of the House, withdrawn himself into a foreign country, without assigning any satisfactory reason for so doing, that this House will now proceed upon the matter of the charge against him.

Upon this a very long debate arose, in which every art and subterfuge were made use of by the Opposition to prevent the matter from being proceeded upon. Those who spoke for Mr. Wilkes insisted that it was cruel to hear evidence against one of their members exparte, when he was not on the spot to make his defence, especially as the charge against him was of the most heinous nature; that as he was now under prosecution for it in the Courts below, at the suit of the Crown, it would be best to wait their decision; that with them witnesses were examined upon oath; that a jury determined fairly and impartially upon that evidence; and that when the record of his conviction was brought up to them, it would be a proper ground to

go upon in inflicting the censure of the House upon him;—for if they should adjudge him guilty, and a Court at Law below, after a fair and open trial by a jury, should acquit him, the public would thence be led to think hardly of the justice of the House, a circumstance which would lead to many inconveniences. Besides, if the judgment of the House should be given against him now, he would be thereby prejudged; and it must greatly influence the jury upon his trial in Westminster Hall. Upon the whole, as the trial below might be brought on after the ensuing term, as the cause of his absence was the illness of his daughter, and as the delay of a few weeks was of little importance in this case, they insisted on the matter being postponed for the present.

In answer to this, the Attorney General and Mr. Yorke, in two very excellent speeches, observed, that Mr. Wilkes had been repeatedly required to attend in his place to make his defence; that every indulgence had been given him on account of his health; that he had, in contempt of the order of the House, withdrawn himself into a foreign country, for which, in his letter to the speaker, he assigned no reason whatever; that it was highly unbecoming the dignity of that House to leave to the decision of the Courts below matters which so nearly concerned their own privileges, and which were properly cognizable by themselves; that surely this House were as competent judges in a cause of this nature as any twelve men whatsoever, let them be ever so honest and impartial; that the censure of this House could not affect him in Westminster Hall; that there they pronounced their verdict from the evidence that was actually given before them in the cause in question, without being biased in any manner by any thing said or done out of Court, or even by any thing which they themselves knew previous to the trial then depending; that all juries knew this, and were constantly instructed by the judges to conduct themselves accordingly; that this House would incur no odium whatever, even if Mr. Wilkes should be acquitted afterwards by a jury; that nothing was more common, in trials of private matters, than for two juries to give a different verdict upon nearly the same evidence; that this might and actually did frequently happen, as evidence was capable of being seen in a variety of lights, though the juries were both composed of men of inexceptionable honesty-nor were they even liable to censure upon that account; that as Mr. Wilkes had hitherto entered no appearance to the suits instituted against him, or taken any steps towards making his defence, it was impossible to foresee how long it might be before thr affair was brought to an issue below; that if he did

not appear at all judgment might go against him by default, but still this would be no condemnation; that a decision in the Courts below ought not to be admitted as evidence in that House in such a case as this, against one of their own members, which would subject them all to the consequences of prosecution, carried on against them by the servants of the Crown; and that, in fact, as they had already prejudged the affair by voting the North Briton, No. 45, a seditious libel, &c., it behooved them, if they must be guided by the decision of the Courts below, to retract that vote. It was also objected by Wilkes's friends, that it would be hard to condemn members upon evidence which could not be taken upon oath; and some proposed to have a Middlesex Justice to swear the witnesses in the lobby; -but this was opposed as unprecedented, besides that, it would be absurd in them to pretend to delegate that power to another which they had not themselves-a Justice of Peace, of himself, having no power to administer an oath but by virtue of and within the jurisdiction of his commission; and that it would be highly unjust and unreasonable to object to the nature of the evidence in the present case, which related to one of their own members, seeing they had on the like evidence, upon a variety of occasions, inflicted very severe punishment upon many of his Majesty's subjects, whose liberty and fortune were equally dear to them, and with that House ought to be held equally sacred.

These were the material arguments made use of on both sides, though a great deal of time was consumed in idle speeches from the Opposition, which, as they were very little to the purpose, it was impossible to retain. Then the motion to proceed was agreed to by a great majority—267, I think, to 102, or thereabouts.

The witnesses were then ordered to be called in, in the order following:—1. J. Cadell, apprentice to Mr. Miller, proved Mr. Wilkes's ordering the first number of the North Briton to be advertised, and his having paid the charges of so doing. 2. W. Johnston, Bookseller, proved his applying to him to publish the N. B. for him. After this witness was examined, Mr. Beckford proposed to adjourn the further hearing of the cause till next day; and though there was a clear majority against it, he insisted on dividing the House, and it was carried against it by almost the same majority as above; and after this, during the course of the evidence, they divided the House twice more upon the question to adjourn, with the like effect. This the Opposition plainly did in order, if possible, to tire the House and protract the affair; for every division took up at least half an hour. But the other side were resolute to finish it.

3. Jonathan Scott, bookseller, and one Shaw, a printer, proved 21 letters, which were produced, to be the handwriting of Mr. Wilkes.

Then the letters were read by the Clerk. They were directed some to Kearsly, the publisher, and some to Balfe, the printer, and contained chiefly directions for printing the numbers of the N. Briton. One of them in particular (marked No. 20,) contained directions that obviously related to No. 45, desiring Balfe to insert the inclosed letters after the North Briton, and before the Proposal, and to make the whole two sheets—circumstances which could relate to no other number of that paper.

4. One Currie, a journeyman printer, proved that he was employed by Mr. Wilkes to reprint the North Briton, last summer, in his own house in George street, in two volumes; and that in particular Mr. Wilkes corrected and added some notes to No. 45. But as his evidence related to an offence committed after that complained of in the address from his Majesty, (which alluded to that printed in weekly numbers,) it was objected to by the Opposition, as not to the purpose of their present inquiry; nor was it insisted on by the other side.

5. Balfe, the printer, proved that he received the above mentioned letter from Mr. Wilkes, inclosing a letter about the discharge of a soldier and the proposal; that these were printed by him at the end of the North Briton, No. 45; and that he also received from Mr. Wilkes, either by his footman, or by a porter whom Mr. Wilkes usually employed, at different times, the whole copy of the said number of the N. B.; that when he had composed it he sent the proof to his house in George street; from whence it was returned to him by Mr. Wilkes's servant, corrected, which corrections were accordingly made in it. This evidence, bringing the thing home upon Mr. Wilkes, in a manner beyond a possibility of doubt, the Attorney General rested the matter here, and declined to call any other witnesses.

The friends of Mr. Wilkes gave every obstruction, and made every objection in their power, in the course of the evidence; but it so happened, that the more they cross-examined them the more clearly it come out against him. Balfe, in particular, was questioned, whether he had had any offers made him, or if any undue influence had been used by Mr. Solicitor Webb, or any other person, in order to induce him to give his testimony; but on the strictest scrutiny, it did not appear that any promises had been made him, other than that the Government would not suffer him to be a loser by his fidelity on this occasion. This, the Attorney General observed, was no more than was usual in all trials, where, if the party on whose behalf the wit-

nesses appeared, did not indemnify him for his charges and loss of time in attending his trial, the Judge will oblige him to do it before the witnesses gives their evidence.

Lord Temple attended the whole time. Mr. Pitt was not in the House. Charles Townsend was present, but did not open his mouth.

The principal speakers on both sides were:

Against Mr. Wilkes.

Attorney General,
Solicitor General,
Mr. Yorke,
Mr. Sewell,
Mr. Grenville,
Lord North, and

For him.

Mr. Fitzherbert,
Col. Onslow,
Serjeant Huett,
Mr. Mansby,
Alderman Beckford, and
Mr. Townsend.

Lord Strange.

It was now past three in the morning, when the Attorney General summed up the evidence in a short and sensible speech, and then a motion was made by Lord North, That Mr. Wilkes is guilty of writing and publishing the N. B. No. 45, an audacious libel, &c., which was agreed to without a division. He then moved that the said Mr. Wilkes be, for his said offence, expelled the House; which was also agreed to without a division, the noes not being, to the best of my judgment, above two or three.

And then the House adjourned (it being now ½ an hour after three

in the morning,) till to-day at noon.

Mr. Strahan to Mr. Hall.

LONDON, JAN'Y 24, 1764.

Yesterday the debate in the House of Lords regarding Mr. Wilkes was opened by Lord Sandwich, who recapitulated the evidence that had formerly been given at their Bar, in order to prove him the author and publisher of an Essay on Woman, &c., which had thereupon been voted a breach of privilege against a learned Prelate, and the King addressed to prosecute him in the Courts below for the blasphemy. He was answered by Lord Temple, who observed that he had entered his appearance to that prosecution, and therefore he insisted long and warmly against proceeding farther in that matter till the judgment should be given thereupon. He doubted, he said, whether he could be deemed the publisher or not; that in a former case, the late Bp. of London (Gibson) having been shewn a leaf or sheet of a blasphemous

book, he ordered the whole impression to be forthwith seized and burnt; and when he was solicited to prosecute the author, he replied he thought it better he should escape the punishment due to his crime than that the work itself should be so far published as was necessary for his condemnation. Lord Temple by this hinted that Kidgell ought to be deemed the publisher, and proposed his being examined. was seconded by the Duke of Grafton, and on Wilkes's side of the question the Duke of Devonshire and New Castle also spoke, but nothing material. On the other side, Lord Mansfield, with his usual precision, Lord Marchmont, Duke of Bedford, Lord Halifax, Lord Sandwich, Lord Morton, &c. spoke very fully and clearly, the substance of which was as follows: That in their former vote they did not mean to prejudge Mr. Wilkes; that vote meant no more than that from evidence which had been given at their bar, they had reason to think him guilty of that offence upon which he might be brought before them to answer in vinculis for that supposed offence; that in a case of this kind the House acted like a Grand Jury, who heard evidence only ex parte, and upon that evidence the accused person, whether he were really guilty or not, must submit to a trial; that any person swearing a debt against another, by that means deprived that other person of his liberty, though it might turn out that he owed him not one shilling. Lord Sandwich, at last, to put an end to a debate that appeared altogether frivolous, declared that he had no intention to precipitate the matter, but to give Mr. Wilkes full time to make his defence; and in order to obviate every difficulty or objection that could be stated by his friends, proposed to carry the matter no farther at present than to move the House, That it appearing to this House that John Wilkes, Esq., of Great George Street, Westminster, is the author and publisher of the Essay on Woman and the Veni Creator paraphrased, &c. &c. be taken in the custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod attending this House: which was agreed to.

No witnesses were examined to-day, but the depositions of those who were examined before were read, which indeed came up to a very full proof of Mr. Wilkes's guilt. If he does not appear in a reasonable time, (as I dare say he will not) he will of course, I suppose, be outlawed, and the whole affair will be extinguished and forgotten.

[He was outlawed, as anticipated by Mr. Strahan, and after several attempts to obtain a reversal, ventured to return on a change of ministry, and delivered himself up. Notwithstanding his imprisonment, he was elected to represent the county of Middlesex—having previ-

ously run for the city of London and been defeated—and soon after surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the King's bench—where we find him in Mr. Strahan's next letter.]

Mr. Strahan to Mr. Hall.

London, April 26, 1768.

DEAR DAVIE,—I wrote to you on the 16th instant, by the packet, to which I refer. I sit down to write you a little *Politics* now, lest when the next packet is about to sail I may be too much hurried to be so particular as I would wish to be.

You know I expressed my fears, in my last, lest Lord Mansfield might behave with timidity on the 20th. The event hath but too well justified my suspicions. Indeed, it was beyond all example. facts I will endeavor to state with brevity and precision. Wilkes, convicted on two indictments, one for blasphemy, the other for sedition in grossly abusing and giving the lie to his Sovereign, flies from justice, and is thereupon outlawed. He attempts once and again to obtain his pardon, but is as often obliged to return into exile. Tired, at last, of his obscurity, depending upon the weakness of administration, and hoping also to avail himself of the confusion and tumult unavoidably attending a general election, he ventures, once more, to return at that critical period; and being desperate, and having nothing to lose, he boldly offers himself as a Representative of the Capital. What unexpectedly followed you already know. But after all, who could believe it, that this very man, who the other day, with fear and trembling, sallied from his retreat; whom we were told any body might secure and bring to justice, and who at length gave public notice of his intention to surrender himself at the bar of the Court of King's Bench; I say, who could believe it, that when this man, so circumstanced, came before them, he was told, that they did not know him? He was not legally brought before them, as a writ of Capias utlegatum, it seems, ought previously to have been issued against him; which the Chief Justice did not choose to order, and the Attorney General, whose particular province it was, did not choose to do. Is not this passing strange? But this is not all. The criminal, even there, at the tribunal of justice itself, becomes the accuser, and in an insolent speech, which to the amazement of all who heard it, he was permitted to make, he charges the Chief Justice himself, to his face, of having illegally and unconstitutionally altered the Record (see the speech itself in the Chron. of April 21,) in such a manner as

materially to affect his case. To this charge, thus unwarrantably brought, the Chief Justice not only gives a patient hearing, but deigns to answer, and in a very long speech endeavors to clear himself from the crime which Wilkes, with so unprecedented an exertion of his powers of effrontery, accused him of. This done, Wilkes is suffered to return home in triumph!

This whole proceeding is universally considered by all impartial men as the consequence of a total abdication of Government; and, without regarding the unworthy object of the present contest, entertain no very ill-grounded fears of what all this may lead to; for no Capias is yet issued, and Wilkes still remains unmolested, and at liberty!

The secret springs of all this manœuvre have not yet been discover-Either Lord Mansfield is afraid of Wilkes's popularity, and does not therefore choose to be active in carrying his sentence into execution, in which case his conduct is dastardly beyond example; or the Ministry mean to protract this matter till the meeting of Parliament, to have their sense of it, and have instructed Lord Mansfield accordingly, in which case he condescends to be their tool Either way his behaviour has, upon this occasion, been such as gives just cause of deep concern to those who venerate his rare and exalted abilities as a lawyer; and even in spite of these, renders him (I am sorry to say it,) the object of general censure-I had almost said, contempt. At any rate, it forever fixes his character for cowardice and timidity in the execution of his office, and in the exertion of his great talents, which, even with a very moderate degree of resolution, would entitle him, without envy, and without control, to take the lead, and give the law in any important measure by which the extensive interests of this country can be effected.

But I will not now tire your patience by making any farther reflections on these amazing events. The Parliament must take into consideration this whole affair, I should imagine, on their meeting next month, and then you shall certainly hear from me again, when I will endeavor to give you the best account of their proceedings I am able. In the mean time, it opens no very pleasing prospect, when we consider that this new Parliament will meet under the weakest and most disjointed administration this country ever saw, and at a time when the greatest abilities and fortitude are wanting, as well as to settle the concerns and to secure the allegiance of our more distant provinces, as to recover our reputation with foreign States, who cannot be ignorant of that licentiousness and contempt of all legal government, which so openly prvails even in the seat of the British Legislature itself. The present Ministry are indeed no Ministry, and must therefore give way;

but when, or to whom, is the question. The Duke of Grafton hath greatly lost himself of late, and we have not in this country, as far as appears, any one man who is fit to take the lead at any time, much less in such a critical period as this. But here I will lay down my pen for the present.

May 14, 1768.

Dear Davie,—Since the above was written, I have yours of March 14, via Bristol, by Capt. Mackinnie. The books therein ordered, and those wrote for before, are already shipped on board Capt. Sparks; but a stop is put to the sailing of any ships for the present, till the sailors come to themselves, for they now insist upon raising their wages before they will strike a stroke. I have likewise yours of March 26 and 29, by the Nancy, Leach, inclosing a bill on Kerries and Co. for £200, which is accepted, and shall be placed to your credit, together with £279 16s. 9d., being the clear produce of the 1200 dollars, the receipt of which I acknowledged in my last. I shall write you fully by Sparks, and send the invoice. In the mean time I just send off this by this packet, to acquaint you with the above particulars relating to business, and to add a few words with regard to politics, in which I must of necessity be brief, as I am got almost to midnight.

Wilkes's outlawry was partly argued this day fortnight at the bar of the King's Bench, and the farther hearing of it put off till next term. In the mean while he remains in prison. Crowds of people have constantly repaired to St. George's Fields, where the prison stands, and, as the newspapers will inform you, have been very riotous, and some persons have been killed by the military, who were called in to quell the disturbances. How it has happened, it is not easy to say, but there has been attempts made, not only by the seamen, as above mentioned, but by the coal-heavers, carmen, &c. to press for an augmentation of their wages, upon the plea of the dearness of the necessaries of life, and refuse to go to work till the masters have agreed to their demands. All this, however, has been done without riot or violence, and hath in appearance no connection whatever with Wilkes or his cause. This matter will, therefore, come to nothing, as indeed I am apt to think will Mr. Wilkes's affair in a very little time. The bustle among the common people, on his account, hath really been considerable, and much mischief hath been done; but I think it is almost at an end. The Parliament hath yet taken no notice of him. Yesterday they unanimously voted their thanks to the Lord Mayor for his spirited conduct during these disturbances, and he will probably have a Red Ribbon. They also ordered compensation to be made to two Justices

of the Peace in the Borough, whose houses the mob had rifled, as they were the peace officers by whose orders the soldiers, after much provocation, fired among them. This looks not well for Wilkes. I was in the House yesterday, and perceived several of his well-wishers and abettors look very blank when these matters were canvassed and these votes passed. It bodes no good to him that his situation hath not been attended to by the House this whole week, though his friends flattered themselves, that some violent motions would have been made in his behalf before they went upon any other business. They are not expected to sit above ten days more, that is, till Wednesday, the 24th, by which time they will have passed the necessary bills. The Duke of Grafton hath declared in the House of Lords his intention to support Government to the utmost of his power. In that House little or no opposition hath yet appeared; and among the Commons, Wedderburn, and others, who are in opposition, have only endeavored to find fault with the Ministry in general terms, without pretending to point out what measures they ought to have pursued during the late insurrections. Upon my word, I know not what all this will end in-I mean respect. ing the present Ministry; but I am of opinion no changes of any consequence will take place till towards the winter session. A very little spirit and prudent conduct in those at the helm would soon set every thing to rights; for as there is not in fact the least color of reason for complaint on the part of his Majesty, or his Government, or that our liberties are in the least danger, all these attempts to disturb our repose must necessarily prove abortive. No nation was ever blessed with a better Prince; and if we are not happy and prosperous under his Government, the fault is to be looked for in ourselves.

But I must now conclude this hasty scrawl. Yesterday the King's second sister, Loisa Anne, after a lingering illness, departed this life. She was afflicted with bad health from her cradle.

My family are as I wrote last. I expect my wife home from Bath next week; and as early as I can in the next month I purpose to set out with her for Scotland.

The ship in which your goods are will, I hope, sail next week. I shall then give you what farther may occur of politics. In the mean time I am, as I ever shall be, dear Davie,

Your most affectionate and faithful servant,

WILL: STRAHAN.

Do not forget my very kindest respects to your good woman, and to all enquiring friends with you.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. IV. 1849. No. 3.

FREEHOLD, September 13th, 1849.

THE SOCIETY met at this place at 3 o'clock P. M. at the Court House. The Rev. Dr. Murray, Chairman of the Executive Committee, called the members to order, and, after reading a letter from the President, (the Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower,) stating that he was necessarily absent, attending, as a corporate member, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Pittsfield, Mass.—as none of the Vice Presidents were present, nominated the Hon. James G. King as Chairman, who was thereupon elected and took the chair.

After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting, the Corresponding Secretary made his Report; laying upon the table letters from the Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D., of Philadelphia; Benj. Silliman, LL. D., of New Haven; George H. McWhorter, Esq., of Oswego, in acknowledgement of their election as members of the Society: from Professor G. W. Morris, of New York; Chas. G. McChesney, Esq., the Secretary of State; Hon. Wm. A. Duer; Messis. J. P. Bradley, John Rodgers, McWhorter and Bethune, transmitting donations to the library; and from the Regents of New York University, Historical Society of Maryland, American Antiquarian Society, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and various individuals, on matters connected with the operations of the Society.

Mr. Rodgers forwarded a number of original letters from Joseph Sherwood, Agent of the Province in London, from 1761 to 1765, addressed to the Treasurer and Committee of Correspondence of the Assembly, on public affairs; and in behalf of Mr. Edmund Morris, of Burlington, the MSS. of Samuel Smith, including the original of his "History of New Jersey," printed in 1765.

In reference to this last donation, the Secretary remarked that as no one who attempted to study the history of the State, could withhold the expression of his thanks for the assistance derived from Smith's history, it would ever be gratifying to have in the library of the Society the original MS. from which it was compiled. It could scarcely be said to have been printed from it, since a slight inspection rendered it apparent that the history had undergone revision, and been much altered in the arrangement of its chapters, &c., in the hands of the proof reader. The plan of Smith had embraced three subjects, the history of Pennsylvania as well as of New Jersey, and, with them, an account of the Society of Friends in America: and the MS. received by the Society contained all three in one narrative: considered by the author so far complete that he had written a preface and title page; but he finally gave to the public only such portions as referred more particularly to New Jersey. After Mr. Smith's death, his manuscripts were placed in the hands of Proud, the Pennsylvania historian, who made free use of them-giving only a general credit in his preface-modifying, expunging, and abridging at his pleasure; but he had not, it was thought, extracted all that was valuable.

The following resolution, submitted by the Secretary, was then

adopted:

Resolved, That the Smith Manuscripts presented to the Society by Mr. Edmund Morris, be referred to the Committee on Publications, and that they be authorized to publish in the periodical of the Society such portions or extracts as they may deem advisable.

The Treasurer reported a balance of cash on hand of \$251.83.

The Chairman, (Hon. JAS. G. KING,) from the Committee appointed to take charge of the Fund for obtaining information respecting the Colonial Documents, &c., made a report, from which the following are extracts:

"The sum of six hundred dollars was fixed upon as necessary, in the first instance, to be raised by subscription: \$535 have been already subscribed, of which \$485 are collected. The remaining \$50 will shortly be paid, and the farther sum of \$65, to make up the amount required, ought also to be obtained, as it will undoubtedly be needed. Further subscriptions may therefore be forwarded to the Committee.

"Good progress has been already made, by Mr. Henry Stevens, entrusted with the work, and abstracts obtained of about 700 papers of dates between 1664 and 1714, of which Mr. Stevens thinks probably 600 are entirely unknown, here, and illustrate new

points in the history of the state.

"Mr. Stevens thinks it difficult to form an estimate, with accuracy, of the number of papers that may be found in the State Paper Office and elsewhere, relating to New Jersey, prior to 1783, but he feels confident that they will considerably exceed 2,000. He wishes to make the work as comprehensive as possible—and, therefore, he will not omit notice of documents, though they may have already been transcribed by Mr. Brodhead—or may have been printed in some not generally accessible book, or even may be preserved in some collection in New York or New Jersey: but those exceptions will be few. When the work is completed, these abstracts or slips will be arranged chronologically and placed in cases—each containing about 300 slips—in this way they may be used until the society is able to print them."

Accompanying the report were twenty of the abstracts sent over by Mr. Stevens as specimens of their character, and of the manner in which they would be executed.*

^{*} As a specimen of the work, and for the information of those who have liberally contributed towards it, the following is given in full. After reading this, not as interesting or important as many, no one can longer doubt the value of such an index, whether the Papers themselves should ever be obtained or not:

[&]quot;1687. May 30 to July 12.

"Memorandum of a petition having been presented by the Proprietors of East and West Jersey to the King, complaining that their ships are obliged to enter New York. The petition was referred to the Board of Trade, May 30, 1687. On the 15th June, 1687, the Board of Trade gave their opinion that the Petition be sent to Col. Dongan, Governor of N. York, for his answer—on the 18th of June an order of Council was issued, confirming the Board's opinion. The Proprietors, however, applied the second time, and on the 12th of July, 1687, an order of Council was issued commanding the Board of Trade to hear the Proprietors—the result of which hearing was a letter from the Privy Council to Gov. Dongan under the date of 14th August, 1687.

[&]quot;S. P. O. B. T. New York, vol. 47, p. 118.

[&]quot;Entry, 8 folios.

The letters, &c., at the bottom, indicate the place of deposit, ("State Paper Office," "Board of Trade.") The character of the paper (an "entry," not an original or copy,) and its length: so that knowing the price for copying, uniformly 4d. sterling, the cost of any paper is at once seen.

Judge Duer, from the Committee on Publications, reported the continuance of the Society's Periodical, although the designs of the Committee in reference to its enlargement and improvement were materially obstructed by a want of promptness on the part of subscribers in remitting.

"Although the value of this quarterly publication of the Society seems to be fully acknowledged, the Committee regret to state that the want of promptness on the part of subscribers interferes materially with their designs respecting it. As the Society expect its receipts to defray its cost, so was it the intention that all its receipts should be expended upon its improvement, and were due promptitude observed, the Committee would feel authorized, from the number who receive it, to direct at once its enlargement, although, from its size and character, it is already furnished at a very low price. The Committee hope that the consideration of the great difficulty which attends the collection by a society of small sums, widely scattered, will lead the members to relieve them as much as possible from the task."

Dr. McLean, from the Committee on Monumental Inscriptions in Monmouth County, reported that some progress had been made in obtaining those of Freehold and Shrewsbury; and Mr. Whiteaead stated that all those of dates prior to 1800 in the cemeteries of Woodbridge, and in one of the cemeteries of Piscataway—several hundred in number—had been procured and were being arranged and prepared for presentation to the Society.

The Chairman laid before the Society a letter, which had just been handed to him, from James T. Sherman, Editor of the Trenton State Gazette, in relation to the charges which had appeared in that paper against certain members of the Society and the Recording Officers, which had been commented on by the Corresponding Secretary at the last meeting; and transmitting a paper reaffirming the same, which he asked to have inserted in the Society's Records and published in their proceedings.

Judge Duer moved a reference to the Committee on Publications. The Rev. Dr. McLean objected to a reference to that Committee, and advocated the appointment of a Select one. A general discussion ensued, not only of the immediate matter of reference, but of the whole subject involved. Mr. Haves moved that the matter be laid

upon the table; which motion was lost, and the question recurring upon Judge Duer's resolution, it was

Resolved, That the communication of the Editor of the Trenton State Gazette, just read, with the whole subject to which he alludes, be referred to the Committee on Publications, for their examination and report.

Mr. Hornor made some statements relative to the errors in the generally received accounts of the Battle of Trenton, &c., and offered a resolution having in view their correction in the anticipated fourth volume of Mr. Bancroft's history, through the agency of the Society; but as the Society was not in possession of the information to which he referred, as necessary thereto, the resolution was lost.

The Society then adjourned to afford the members an opportunity of visiting the Battle-ground and the public institutions of the place.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society again convened at $7\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock.

The Chair appointed Messrs. John Whitehead and Thos. H. Stephens a Committee to audit the Treasurer's account preparatory to the Annual Meeting.

On motion of Mr. CHARLES KING,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee cause to be prepared for the Honorary, Corresponding, and Life Members of the Society, engraved diplomas or certificates of membership, bearing such inscription and devices as they may deem appropriate; and that the same, after receiving the signatures of the President, or one of the Vice Presidents, and the Secretaries, be transmitted, free of expense, to those entitled to them.

On motion of Mr. WM. B. KINNEY,

Resolved, That when Corresponding Members of this Society remove into the State, they shall, by their change of residence, become Resident Members, unless they decline: and when Resident Members remove from the State, they in like manner shall become Corresponding Members.

Dr. McLean presented, in behalf Mr. Robert L. Robins, of Burlington, an Indian arrow head, (of flint,) pipe, (of soap-stone,) and stone axe, ploughed up in Burlington County.

Mr. Kinney presented, in behalf of Mr. Lucius D. Baldwin, of Newark, a metallic copy of the gold medal voted by Congress to

Gen. Daniel Morgan, on 9th March, 1781, bearing inscriptions in Latin, of which the following are translations:

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS
TO
GEN. DANIEL MORGAN.

Victory the Defender of Liberty.

The Enemy routed, captured and slain, at Cowpens, January 17, 1781.

The obverse of the medal represents America, in the midst of implements of war, crowning Morgan with a wreath of laurel; and the reverse gives a spirited delineation of the battle.

Dr. Murray made some remarks relative to Gen. Morgan, who was born in New Jersey, and observed that he united the best characteristics of the Christian, the Patriot, and the Soldier.

The Corresponding Secretary presented in behalf of the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., of New York, a copy of a "Memorial from Colonel Lewis Morris, on the state of religion in New Jersey about the year 1700"—from the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Reference being made therein to George Keith, the first settler of Freehold, Mr. Whitehead read in connection a Biographical Sketch of that distinguished Quaker and subsequent Missionary of the Established Church of England.

lished Church of England.

Mr. CHARLES KING then read a paper on the "Battle of Monmouth — describing the movements of the respective armies prior to, during, and subsequent to the conflict, and narrating the prominent circumstances of the time.

On motion of Mr. KINNEY,

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society are hereby tendered to Mr. King for the valuable and interesting paper he had just read, and that he be requested to place a copy at the disposal of the Committee on Publications.

Mr. AMZI C. McLean suggested the propriety of the Society's republishing the proceedings of the Court Martial of General Lee, which had become a scarce book; as it contains, in the testimony of the different officers examined, very full details of the operations of

the respective corps at the Battle of Monmouth; and a resolution being offered to that effect, the subject was referred to the Committee on Publications for their consideration and decision.

The Society then adjourned to meet at Trenton on the third Thursday of January next, in accordance with the by-laws.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

Laid before the Society, September 13th, 1649.

FROM THE REV. DR. BETHUNE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 23, 1849.

My DEAR SIR,

I gratefully acknowledge your note acquainting me with my having been elected an Honorary Member of the New Jersey Historical Society; and in accepting the flattering distinction so kindly conferred upon me, I beg leave to assure you that I shall count myself happy if I should ever be able to shew by any evidence my high respect for the aims and usefulness of your excellent association.

I have the honor to be

Your ob't servant, GEO. W. BETHUNE.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Corres. Sec. N. J. Hist. Soc.

FROM GEORGE H. McWHORTER, ESQ.

Oswego, (N. Y.) May 28th, '49.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 18th inst., communicating to me my election as a Corresponding Member of the New Jersey Historical Society.

In advising you of my acceptance of the membership, I beg you will make known to the Society my high appreciation of the honor conferred upon me, and the grateful sensibility with which I have received so unexpected and undeserved a testimonial of kindness and respect from my native State and youthful home, which I have never ceased to honor and to love.

If the opportunity should ever present itself of communicating any thing of historical interest to the Society, I shall certainly not

neglect it.

I can hardly express to you the pleasing and grateful feelings I have experienced in observing such a number of the old and honored Jersey names among the officers of the Society.

Believe me, Sir,

Most respectfully,

Your obd't serv't,

GEO. H. McWHORTER.

WM. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Corres. Sec. N. J. Hist. Soc.

FROM BENJ. SILLIMAN, LL.D.

NEW HAVEN, July 6, 1849.

DEAR SIR,-

I must beg pardon for my long delay in thanking you for your official notice of my election as an "Honorary Member of the New Jersey Historical Society."

Urgent circumstances have caused delay in my correspondence, but in the present instance it has not arisen from a failure to appreciate very highly both the importance of the Society and the honor of

being enrolled among its members.

New Jersey is fruitful in materials for most interesting history. I have walked over her battle-fields with intense interest, and during my last visit to Princeton—1841—the lamented Professor Dod, with a large and exact plan, constructed by himself and his brother, attended me over the grounds rendered memorable by the death of Mercer, and by the still more memorable consequences which resulted from the conflict and the previous one at Trenton.

I have just perused Bishop Doane's vivid and beautiful address before the Historical Society; it is replete with the most interesting

views.

Wishing to your Society full success in its very laudable efforts, I remain, with thanks for the honor they have done me, respectfully,

Your and their very obedient servant,

B. SILLIMAN.

In Col. Trumbull's beautiful and splendid picture of the battle of Princeton, which is in the Trumbull Gallery of Yale College, Captain Leslie, of the British army, having received a mortal wound, is pale with impending death, although still on his feet, and his sword hangs by a thong from his wrist. Col. Trumbull told me that, when he was painting that picture in London, Sir Robert Kerr Porter, the celebrated artist, soldier and traveller came into his painting room and being asked by the American artist in what way he could best express that crisis of a soldier's fate, he suggested that mode,—remarking that an officer often carries into battle a strop secured to his wrist and to the hilt of his sword, that he may not lose it in case of a wound received in the sword hand.

Captain Leslie was son of the Earl of Leven and Melville, of Scotland. After the battle of Princeton was ended, Gen'l Washington, attended by his staff, among whom was Dr. Rush, observed an elegant young officer apparently dying and sustained in the arms of his servant; the individual was Capt. Leslie, and Dr. Rush requested permission to take charge of him, remarking "I have often dandled him on my knee in his father's house, where I was received as a child of the family." Dr. Rush remained with him until he died and caused him to be decently interred and a monument to be erected (I believe) at Pluckemin — and the family were satisfied, after the Revolution was over, to have his bones remain unmolested.

It happened to me in November 1805, to sit at dinner at the house of Mr. Henry Thornton, at Clapham, near London, next to Lord Leven and Melville, brother of Captain Leslie. He enquired with a pensive interest, whether I was acquainted with the battle ground of Princeton—and on being answered in the affirmative, he replied—"I had a brother killed in that battle—Captain Leslie."

The battle of Trenton is also here in the Trumbull Gallery—a fine picture, but the artist regarded the battle of Princeton as his master-piece. I should be most happy to shew them to you, or any of your associates, and to mention other historical incidents connected with them which I learned from Col. Trumbull.

The Battles of Princeton and Trenton are not among those in the Rotunda at Washington.

FROM JOSEPH P. BRADLEY, ESQ.

Newark, June 11th, 1849.

SIR,-

Mr. Maillard, of Bordentown, the Executor of the late Joseph Bonaparte, Count of Survilliers, deeming it eminently fitting to present the Historical Society of this State with some memorial of the Count, who resided among us, in the capacity of a quiet and dignified citizen from 1816 to 1831, has desired me to place in your hands for that purpose, which I now have the pleasure of doing, a finely engraved portrait of Joseph, accompanied with a biographical sketch of his life, taken principally from an article which appeared in the North American Review, and also an autograph letter, to which I have appended a translation. Please have these interesting memorials placed in the archives of the Society, and accept for yourself personally the kind recollections and regards of Mr. Maillard.

Truly yours,

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY.

Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, Pres't of the N. J. Historical Society.

[TRANLATION.]

FROM COUNT OF SURVILLIERS TO PROFESSOR CREVELLI.

POINT BREEZE,* 14, July, 1829.

SIR,-

I have received your letters of the 11th and 12th. I do not mean to be understood as declining to receive a work relating to my brother Napoleon: I am too deeply interested in his memory, to reject any light which presents itself upon his life, from whatever side it may come. Nor am I, what you seem to think, a rich man.

I prove these two assertions by the pleasure with which I accept of the pamphlet you mention, and by the transmission of the enclosed check, more conformable to my actual means, than to the desire I have of promptly smoothing the difficulties you meet with in this country. I think I am authorized to evince this feeble homage by the confidence which you show me, and by the post-script of your letter of the 12th.

I am not acquainted with England, and am disposed to think your judgment of it correct: I have lived here for a long time, and I think your particular position causes you to judge this country too unfavorably.

Accept, Sir, my wishes for your happiness, and your return to the fortunate shores of your nativity.

Your faithful servant,

JOSEPH, Count of Survilliers.

Profess'r CREVELLI.

* The Count's residence at Bordentown, N. J.

DONATIONS

Announced September 13th, 1849.

From the Virginia Historical Society—Early Voyages to America, &c., by Conway Robinson.

The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, for July, 1849.

From the Maryland Historical Society—Narrative of Events which occurred in Balimore town during the Revolutionary War.

Memoir of Benj. Banneker, read before Maryland Hist. Society by J. H. B. Latrobe, Esq.

Discourse on the Life and Character of Geo. Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore, by J. P. Kennedy.

Journal of Chas. Carroll of Carrollton, during his visit to Canada, 1776, with a Memoir, by Brantz Mayer.

Mr. Brantz Mayer's Discourse at the Dedication of the Baltimore Atheneum, 1848.

Remarks of the U.S. Catholic Reporter on the Discussion between J. P. Kennedy and his Reviewer.

From the American Philosophical Society—Proceedings of the Amer. Philos. Society from April, 1847, to March, 1849.

From the United States—Twenty-nine volumes of State Papers, embracing the Public Documents of the 1st Session of the 30th Congress, and three volumes of Senate Documents of the 28th Congress.

From the State of New Jersey—Fifty volumes of "New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence."

From the Regents of the University of the State of New York—Catalogue of the N. York State Library.

Annual Reports of the Trustees of the N. York State Library to the Legislature, for the years 1845, 1847, '48, '49.

Annual Reports of the Regents of the University, (N. Y.) on the Condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History, with Catalogues of the same, (1848, 1849.)

Catalogue of Historical Papers and Parchments received from the office of the Secretary of State, (N. Y.) and deposited in the State Library.

Communications from the Governor to the Senate of N. York, on International Exchanges, &c.

The Documentary History of the State of New York, by Dr. O'Callaghan.

Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, vols. 1st & 2d. From the Smithsonian Institution—Reports, etc., of the Smithsonian Institution, from the 3d Annual Report of the Regents.

From the New England Historical and Genealogical Society—The N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal for July, 1849.

From the American Association for the Advancement of Science— Proceedings of the Society in September, 1848.

From the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church— The Spirit of Missions from 1836 to 1839, inclusive.

From Mr. Jacob Johnson of Newark—Abstract of Charter and Proceedings of the Society for Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts, from Feb. 1768 to Feb. 1769.

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of Lieut. Gov. Tailer, Boston, 1731, 2.

Diary of Travels among the Natives of the Ohio, &c. (imperfect.) Three Numbers of Dr. Rippon's Baptist Annual Register.

Two Numbers of the American Baptist Magazine.

Dr. Magie's Sermon at the Installation of Rev. C. Hoover in Newark.

New York Pocket Almanac for 1772.

Constitution of the Anti-Union of Church and State Society, (Paterson.)

A British Coin, (1675.)

A (supposed) Bengalese Coin.

From Mr. J. R. Burnet, of Livingston, Essex Co.—Journal of N. J. Legislative Council, (1820.)

Votes and Proceedings of the 43d, 46th, 47th, and 49th General Assemblies of N. J.

From Edward D. Ingraham, Esq., Philadelphia—Reprint of Poor Richard's Almanac for the year 1733.

By Joel Munsell, of Albany, (in exchange)—The American Biographical Sketch Book.

Every Day Book of History and Chronology, 2 vols.

Neilson's Burgoyne's Campaign.

Randall's Digest of N. Y. School System.

Annual Reports of N. Y. Superintendent of Schools for 1846, '48, '49.

Thirteenth Annual Report and Documents of the N. Y. Institution for Deaf and Dumb.

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Managers of N. Y. Institution for the Blind.

Reports on Normal Schools of N. York for the years 1845, '46, '47, '48, '49.

From Hon. Dudley S. Gregory—The Congressional Globe, (new series,) from No. 62 to 68.

Appendix to the same, (new series,) from No. 48 to 76.

From Wm. A. Whitehead, Newark—The Spirit of Missions, from 1840 to '48, in Nos.—(completing the Society's set.)

N. Jersey Legislative Reports on Colonial Records.

Report of Secretary of Treasury on Light Houses.

Sundry Congressional Speeches.

Memorial of W. A. Whitehead in relation to Key West and Indian Key.

The Military Glory of Great Britain, &c.—a Musical Entertainment given at Nassau Hall by the Candidates for the Bachelor's Degree at the close of the Commencement, 1762.

Gov. Haines's Proclamation of the N. Jersey Constitution.

Addresses at Burlington College and St. Mary's Hall.

27th Annual Report of the Bloomingdale Asylum.

Reports of Joint Boards of Delaware and Raritan Canal and Camden and Amboy Rail Road (1848.)

Letter to Managers of Episcopal S. S. Union, &c.

1st Annual Report of Essex Co. Bible Society.

Document relating to the Investigation of the Banks of Louisiana. Annual Report of the Amer. Institute, N. Y. 1846.

Charter and By-Laws of Newark Library Association.

Proceedings of Episcopal Board of Missions for 1839 and 1841.

Journals of N. Y. Diocesan Convention from 1839 to 1842.

Journal of General Convention of Episcopal Church, 1838 and '41. Atlas of New York.

Map of the village of Auburn, N. Y.

Plan of Pittsburg, Pa.

Map of Perth Amboy and surrounding country.

Plan of the City of New York, 1728.

Plan of the Town of Fayetteville, N. C.

Manuscript Minutes of Transactions of Inhabitants of Amboy, and subscription for support of Schoolmaster, 1773: with other MSS. on the same subject.

Schedule of the Personal Estate of John Harrison, of Perth Amboy, 1729.

Original MS. Map of the Island of Key West.

Two Dutch Bricks, from one of the old Jauncey Houses in Wall street, New York, built about 1698, and torn down May, 1849.

From Mr. William B. Kinney, of Newark—A Topographical Map of Jersey City, Hoboken, and the adjacent country.

From Mrs. Julia M. Smith, Newark—The Churchman's Magazine, Parts of vols. 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th.

The United States Magazine for June and July, 1794. (Published in Newark.)

The Assembly's Missionary Magazine for parts of the years 1805 and '6.

The Port Folio for April, June, and Nov. 1816.

The American Monthly Magazine for Dec. 1817, and Jan. and Feb. 1818.

The Ordeal, Nos. 2, 3, 10 and 18, (1809.)

Modern Infidelity considered: a Sermon by Robt. Hall.

The Integrity of Christian Doctrine, by Bp. White.

Christ Crucified the Christian's Hope, by Bp. Moore.

The Churchman: a Sermon by Bp. Hobart.

The Doctrines of the Church; a Sermon by Bp. Moore.

Bp. Hobart's Address to the Students of Gen. Theo. Sem'y of Prot. Epis. Church.

Bp. Hobart's Pastoral Letter on Clerical Associations, and a Vindication of the same.

Constitution of the Prot. Epis. Church in the U. S.

Journal of the Gen. Convention of Prot. Epis. Church, 1811.

Journal of Convention of Epis. Church in N. J. for the years 1810, '11, '19, '23, '24, '27, '28.

The African Repository for parts of the years 1840, '41, '42.

Sundry Congressional Documents.

From Hon. Wm. A. Duer, LL.D.—Address of J. N. Reynolds on Exploring Expedition.

Gallatin on the Rights of the U. States, on the N. E. Boundary. Outlines of the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the U. States.

Biography of Stephen Girard.

A volume of interesting Pamphlets.

Paulding's Slavery in the U. States.

Van Rensselaer's Account of the Affair of Queenstown.

Gurley's Life of Ashmun.

Dr. Berrian's History of Trinity Church, N. Y.

Duer's Lecture on Constitutional Jurisprudence of the U. States.

Reese's Letters to Hon. Wm. Jay, on Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies.

Imperfect Sets of American Law Magazine, the North American and American Reviews.

Acts and Resolutions of the 28th and 29th Congresses.

Acts of the 68th, 70th, 71st and 72d Legislatures of N. J.

Spencer's Reports, vol. I. parts 1st, 2d and 3d.

Green's Chancery Reports, vols. 2d and 3d.

Journals of the 3d and 4th Senates of N. J.

Votes and Proceedings of 71st and 72d Legislatures of N. J.

Report of Commissioner of Patents, (1846 and 1847.)

Fremont's Exploring Expedition.

Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.

Third Annual Report of Regents N. Y. University.

Report of N. Y. Legislature on Capital Punishments, (1841.)

Prof. Beck's Report to Gov. of N. Y. on the Geological Survey of the State.

Observations on the Origin and Conduct of the War with Mexico.

McKenney's Reply to Kosciusko Armstrong.

U. S. Nautical Magazine, 5 numbers.

Third Report (N. Y.) Prison Association.

The Life and Times of Martin Van Buren.

J. Fennimore Cooper's Account of the Battle of Lake Erie.

Duer's Reply to Colden's Vindication of the Steamboat Monopoly.

H. P. Peet's Address before N. Y. Institution for Deaf and Dumb, 1846.

Prof. Francis's Address on Natural History.

Fremont's Geographical Memoir upon Upper California.

Lyell's Lectures on Geology.

Bp. Doane's Address on Laying Corner Stone of Grace Church, Newark.

Ends and Objects of Burlington College.

Message of Gov. N. J. to the Legislature, 1849.

Reports on N. J. State Prison, 1844 and 1848.

Case of the Somers' Mutiny, and Defence of Capt. McKenzie.

Twelfth Annual Report of N. Y. Bible and Common Prayer Book Society.

Proceedings of Gen. Convention of Epis. Church, 1844.

Proceedings of the Court for the Trial of Bp. Onderdonk.

Jay's Reply to Bp. Onderdonk's Statement.

Sanglante Insurrection dies 23, 24, 25, 26, Juin, 1848.

Prospectus of the Universal Atlas of Geography.

Geographie en Douze Dictionaries, &c.

Epistemonie en Tables Generales D'Indication des Connaissances humaines.

Mr. Henderson's Centennial Discourse.

American Art-Union Transactions, 1846.

Dr. Channing on the Creole Case.

Investigation of Affairs of Del. & Rar. Canal and Camden & Amboy Rail Road Cos.

Beach's Wealth and Pedigree of Wealthy Citizens of New York.

Anthon's Discourse on the Death of Rev. Hugh Smith.

Bp. Hopkins's Pastoral Letter.

Address in Congress on the Death of J. Q. Adams.

Mr. Speaker Winthrop's Address on the Laying of the Corner Stone of the National Monument to Washington.

Lives of Eminent Statesmen, by J. Q. Adams.

Sundry Charges and Convention Sermons, by Rt. Rev. Bp. Doane. Judge Edmond's Address on Constitution and Code of Procedure, &c., of New York.

Review of Judge's Cowan's Opinion in the case of Alex. McLeod.

The Matter of the N. Y. Life Ins. & Trust Co., &c.

The Creole Case and Mr. Webster's Despatch Reviewed.

Rev. Mr. McLeod on Capital Punishments.

The Case of Gen. Gaines and Wife.

Rev. Mr. Patterson's Discourse on "Some Causes of Religious Coldness."

Memorial in Regard to Trinity Church, N. Y.

Beasley's Examination of Tract No. 90.

Trinity Church Question, N. Y.

64th Annual Convention of Epis. Church, N. Y.

39th An. Report of N. Y. Epis. Tract Society.

Report of Com. of N. Y. Hist. Soc'y on a National Name.

Imperfect sets of the Literary World and the Literary American, and of the Congressional Globe and Appendix.

Sundry Congressional Speeches and Documents.

Swords' Pocket Almanac for the years 1830, '42, '45, '46, '47, and other Almanacs.

New Jersey Annual Register for 1846.

The Politician's Register.

Semi-Centennial and Commencement Cards of Columbia College, N. York.

Map of the State of Florida.

- " Columbia River.
- " the Seat of War in Mexico.
- " Fremont's Exploring Expedition.
- Texas, and countries adjacent.

From Samuel H. Pennington, M. D.—Annual Report of Managers of N. York State Lunatic Asylum, 1844.

North American Magazine, 8 numbers.

Some account of the Letheon.

Rev. Mr. Mason's Convention Sermon in Trinity Church, Newark. Colleges essential to the Church of God.

Argument of John Quincy Adams in the Case of the Amistad Negroes.

African Repository for Oct. 1844.

Report on Normal Schools.

Catalogues of the College of New Jersey for 1834, '37, '48.

Catalogue of the Cliosophic Society, (College of N. J.)

Report of Commissioners to ascertain the number of Lunatics in New Jersey.

Reports of Trustees of School Fund, N. J. 1842, '45.

Report of Board of Education of Presbyterian Church on Parochial Schools.

D'Homergue's Essays on American Silk.

A Lecture on Natural History of N. Jersey before Newark Mechanic's Association, by Saml. L. Mitchell, M. D., LL.D.

From Mr. John Rodgers, of Burlington—Original Letter from Rich'd Smith, of Burlington, dated Oct. 10, 1756, addressed to his children, to be read after his decease.

Thirty-two Original Letters from Joseph Sherwood, (Agent of Province,) from his appointment, 1761, to the appointment of his successor, 1766, and settlement of his accounts, 1768.

From Mr. Samuel H. Congar, Newark—Sundry Manuscripts, Letters, Guard Reports of Revolutionary Militia, &c. from Papers of the late Maj. Samuel Hayes.

From Mr. Edmund Morris, of Burlington—The Manuscripts of Sam'l Smith, including his History of New Jersey.

From Prof. O. W. Morris, New York—MSS. copies of Reports of Deaf & Dumb Asylum for the first eight, the tenth and fifteenth years—the same being out of print—to make the Society's set complete.

THE MEMORIAL OF COL. MORRIS

CONCERNING THE STATE OF RELIGION IN THE JERSEYS. 1700.

Presented by Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., of N. York.

THE Province of East Jersey has in it Ten Towns, (viz.) Middletown, Freehold, Amboy, Piscataway and Woodbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, Aqueckenonck, and Bergen, and I Judge in the whole Province there may be about Eight thousand souls. These Towns are not like the towns in England, the houses built close together on a small spot of ground, but they include large portions of the Country of 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15 miles in length, and as much in breadth, and all the Settlements within such State and bounds is said to be within such a Township, but in most of those townships there is some place where a part of the Inhabitants sat down nearer together than the rest, and confined themselves to smaller portions of ground, and the town is more peculiarly designed by that Settlement. Those towns and the whole province was peopl'd mostly from the adjacent colonies of New York and New England, and generally by Those of very narrow fortunes, and such as could not well subsist in the places they left. And if such people could bring any religion with them, it was that of the Country they came from, and the State of them is as follows:-

Bergen, and the out Plantations are most Dutch, and were settled from New York and the United Provinces they are pretty equally divided into Calvinist and Lutheran, they have one pretty little Church, and are a sober people, there are a few English Dissenters mixt among them.

AQUECKENONCK was peopl'd from New York also, they are Dutch

mostly and generally Calvinist.

ELIZABETH TOWN & NEWARK, were peopled from New England, are generally Independents, they have a meeting house in each town for their public worship, there are some few Churchmen, Presbiterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers settled among them.

WOODBRIDGE was settled from New England and were generally

Independents till about 16 years since, there was a number of Scots Presbyterians amongst them, the People are divided mostly into Presbiterians and Independents, and there is mixt amongst them Baptists, Quakers, Ranters, cum multis aliis.

PISCATAWAY was settled from New England, and is called the Anabaptist Town, from about twenty in that Town that agree in that Persuasion, the rest of the People are of all, or of no religion.

Perth Ambor the Capital City was settled from Europe, and we have made a shift to patch up the old ruinous house, and make a church of it, and when all the Churchmen in the Province are got together, we make up about twelve Communicants, the People of that town are a mixture of all Persuasion.

FREEHOLD was settled from Scotland (Mr. Keith began the first settlement there, and made a fine Plantation, which he afterwards Sold, and went into Pensilvania) and about the one half of it are Scotch Presbiterians, and a sober people, the other part of it was settled by People (some from New England, some from New York, and some from the forementioned towns) who are generally speaking of no religion. There is in this Town a Quaker Meeting-house, but most of the Quakers who built it are come off, with Mr. Keith, they have not fixt yet on any religion, but are most inclinable to the Church, and could Mr. Keith be persuaded to go into those Countrys, he would (with the blessing of God) not only bring to the Church the Quakers that come off with him in East & West Jersey, which are very numerous, but make many Converts in that Country.

MIDDLETOWN was settled from New York and New England, it is a large Township, there is no such thing as Church or Religion amongst them, they are p'haps the most ignorant and wicked People in the world, their meetings on Sundays is at the Public house, where they get their fill of Rum, and go to fighting & running of races which are Practices much in use that day all the Province over.

Shrewsbury settled from New England, Rhode Island and New York, there is in it ab't thirty Quakers of both Sexes, and they have a meeting house, the rest of the People are generally of no Religion—the Youth of the whole Province are very debauch'd and very ignorant, and the Sabbath day seems there to be set apart for Rioting and Drunkenness. In a word, a general Ignorance and immorality runs through the Youth of the whole Province.

There was in the year One thousand six hundred ninety-seven some endeavors to settle a maintenance in that Country for Ministers, and the greatest part of the house of Comons there were for it, but one Richard Hartshorne a Quaker, and Andrew Broun [Bowne] an Anabaptist found means to defeat it that Session, and before the Assembly could sit again, arriv'd one Jeremiah Bass an Anabaptist Preacher with a Comission from the Proprietors of East Jersey to be their Governour, and with Instructions and Orders from them not to Consent to any act to raise a Maintenance for any Minister of what Perswasion soever, so that there is no hope of doing any thing of that kind till that Governm't is in other hands.

In West Jersey in the year 1699 there were 832 freeholders of wch there were 266 Quakers, whose number are much decreased since Mr. Keith left them. The Quakers in yt Province are ye men of the best Rank and Estates—the rest of that Province (generally speaking) are a hotch Potch of all Religions, the Quakers have several Meeting houses disperst up and down that Province and I believe none of the other perswasions have any. They have a very Debaucht Youth in that Province and very ignorant.

Pennsylvania is settled by People of all languages and Religions in Europe, but the People called Quakers are the most numerous of any one perswasion, and in Philadelphia the Capital City of that Province, there is an Episcopal Church, a Quaker Meeting house, a Presbiterian Meeting house, an Anabaptist Meeting house, and I think an Independent Meeting house, and a little w'thout ye Town a Sweeds Church, the Church of England gains ground in that Country, and most of the Quakers that came off with Mr. Keith are come over to it: The Youth of that country are like those in the neighboring Provinces very Debaucht and ignorant.

I shall now suggest some measures w'ch may conduce to ye bringing over to the Church the People in those Countrys.

First That no man be sent a Governor into any of those Plantations, but a firm Churchman, and if possible none but Churchmen be in his Counsel and in the Magistracy.

2dly That Churchmen may have some peculiar privileges above others. This (if practicable) must be done by Act of Parliament.

3dly That there may be some measures fallen upon to get Ministers to preach gratis in America for some time, till there be sufficient numbers of Converts to bear the charge & I presume that may be accomplish'd this way.

Let the King, the A Bishop, ye Bishops & great Men admit no Man for so many years to any great Benefice, but such as shall oblige themselves to preach three years gratis in America, with part of the living let him maintain a Curate, & the other part let him

apply to his own use. By this means we shall have the greatest & best men & in human probability such men must in a short time make a wonderful progress in the Conversion of those Countries, especially when its p'ceived the good of Souls is the only motive to this undertaking.

MEMBERS ELECTED

September 13th, 1849.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Daniel Babbitt, Orange.

Joseph A. Bowles, Newark.

Stephen H. Condict, Newark.
Charles R. Day, Orange.
Philip Kingsley, Orange.
William H. Mott, Newark.
Isaac W. Scudder, Jersey City.
Daniel F. Tompkins, Newark.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, Washington, D. C. Alexander Thompson, New York. Rev. C. C. Van Arsdale, D. D., Philadelphia. Rev. Elias R. Fairchild, D. D.

LETTERS

From WM, PEARTREE SMITH to ELIAS BOUDINOT,* On the Suspension of Hostilities between the United States and Great Britain.

TO MR. BOUDINOT.

NEWARK, April -, 1783.

My DEAR SIR,-

The glorious work is completed! I salute and congratulate you on the opening of this, I hope, auspicious day - a day which, with the name of my Friend, will be recorded in the page of History, when his Spirit and mine, I trust in God, will be celebrating a Jubilee of eternal Peace and Harmony.

The fine air of this illustrious morning, you will find has set my silent bells into a little jingle; and the imperfect sounds are conveyed to your ears. They are very weak, I must confess. I am incapable of ringing the Grand and Noble Chimes of Triumph. They utter,

however, very sincere joy and my ardent aspirations.

And now my dear Sir, all hands to work, to set all the parts of the Great acquired machine into some order, which I fear is all going to Pieces, without sufficient force in the Commanding Spring, (over which you now preside) and which must be acquired. All the inferior wheels will run into Confusion, and by and bye, some Master Hand will seize it. So did a Cromwell; and if this should become necessary, as (inter nos et sub rosa) I think it will, God grant it may be the man who merits from the Country he has rescued - a DIADEM!

I will detain you no longer, but finish my Letter, only tagging a little laughing mocking Picture at the End on't-

The Conscious Tory hangs his humbled Head, Or sneaks to Scotia with his axe and spade; Reluctant - there to weep 'mid Fogs or Frost-His Friends, his Family, his Country lost. There toils and sweats beneath inclement skies, Envies the once damn'd Rebel-curses George and dies.

Wth all imaginable respect to the Ladies, elder and younger, I am wth ye truest Esteem and Friendship,

W. P. S. Yours, * Mr. Boudinot was President of the Continental Congress, in which body he was one of the Representatives from New Jersey.

To Mr. Boudinot.

NEWARK, April 22d, 1783.

My DEAR SIR,-

Tho' my Letters are hardly worth the waste of your time in reading, yet would it be an unpardonable omission not to acknowledge, and with much thankfulness, your constant remembrance of so recluse a Friend. The Honor done me, and the pleasure given me in y^r late several Conveyances, sufficiently evince it.

I take it for granted that a Day of Genl Thanksgiving is already appointed, when with you I shall join in my hearty Amen to the universal Song, "Peace on Earth and Good Will to Men!"-But I must hazard a melancholly Reflection or two amid this general Burst of Joy. Tell me, O my Friend, of what avail is this most wonderful blessing of Independence to the poor Individual who has sacrificed his all generously to obtain it for his Country, and has now nothing to depend upon for his own support but the mere good Providence of Heaven: not the Justice of his Country; for all regard to this prime attribute of God seems to be vanished from these Rising States. Empires founded upon Trick and Injustice can never prosper. If no restitution be made to injured friends who risqued every thing to uphold a desperate cause, Divine vengeance will by and bye appear in some great unlooked-for & forcible Event. National Crimes, which cannot be punished in a future, must be nationally punished in this world, if there be a righteous God above. All past History verifies the truth of this Observation. And for abandoning the now wretched Loyalists, says Dr. Carlisle, "We ought all to be damned both in this world and ye world to come." Pardon, I write wth some feeling.

The other day I suddenly met wth a Freeman's Journal, in which was an acc^t of a late disturbance in the Army, & of our Great General's Conduct upon that Occasion—a Conduct truly admirable. Superior to what the common principles of Human Nature would have dictated to a Soaring Genius. To a Soul endued wth a spark of ambition, and pointing to Earthly Grandeur, the Opportunity then afforded was a fine one indeed! The writing dispersed among them was well done, shrewd, sensible, & artful, perfectly calculated to blow all up into a universal flame. Had an Oliver commanded a republican army at such a delicate and critical Juncture, his towering brain would have traced out instantaneously a very different Line of Conduct. But Washington is the Patriot of Patriots. Talk of your Catos, yr Brutus, & yr Cassius—they are all meer Fools to him. In short, he is too good for an ingrate, base, degenerate world. Verily.

Verily, I don't know whether it would not have been best for us all, had he lain hold of the Helm; for I am confoundedly afraid the Stupid Crew will sink the Ship, when escaped the Storm and got into safe Port. Words cannot express my Veneration for this Character, to which the late Action has given the finishing stroke. Each State ought to erect a Statue to him: and I would inscribe on the Pedestal: Patrice Liberator. Humani Generis Amator. Humanistati Laudibusq. Superior. But, alas, Alas! the God of this world has blinded their Eyes, and what they ought to do they know not.

It is truly very pious and very charitable in you, my very dear Friend, to talk as you do, of "trusting in the Almighty Protector of our grateful Country, that as he has brought us in sight of Jordan, &c., he will not suffer us now to sink, &c." As to this grateful Country, I, for my part, am grown so much of a Cynic of late, as to be filled with many uncharitable doubts abt the gratitude of this same grateful Country. And with respect to trusting in God, 'tis a very pious Resolve; but here again I have so much of the Sceptic about me as to doubt whether the Almighty will help a People who refuse to put their own shoulders to the work. We know with respect to Individuals it is sd "Work out yr own Salvation, because" &c. Human Exertions and Divine Aid go together wth Nations as well as This is my Creed, & I believe yours. However, God individuals. may save us miraculously, for aught I know, for the sake of a few righteous - for the sake of the few good men we have at the Head of our great Counsil - at the Head of our Army, and I must presume at the Head of our Churches. But I detain you too long. Forgive me this Wrong, and all my impertinent effusions wth yr usual Candor: and be pleased to present my affecs and respectful Salutations to yr two daughters.

Ever my excellent Friend's

Most Entirely,

W. P. S.

P. S. I have been tracing out ye Boundaries of ye United States upon some maps I have. It contains an amazing Extent of Territory. I could now wish to see a good map of the whole: hope some good hand will undertake it. I am sorry the Spaniards have such a Slice at ye Western Extremity. But sure there are Acres enough now to pay just debts.

THE BATTLE

OF

MONMOUTH COURT HOUSE.

Read before the Society September 13th, 1849, at their Meeting at Freehold, Monmouth County.

BY

CHARLES KING, Esq.



BATTLE OF MONMOUTH COURT HOUSE.

SEVENTY-ONE years ago, within sight almost of the spot where we now are peacefully assembled, in all the security of a well-ordered government, and with all the immunities and privileges of freemen — a fierce battle was fought between the mercenaries of the British crown, and the soldiers of Liberty, led by Washington in person, and struggling for the independence of these United States. There may be those within the sound of my voice, whose young ears listened to the booming cannon and the rattling musketry of that day — whose boy-hearts beat high when at its close, the retreat of the foe testified that the God of battles had smiled upon the virtuous arms of men

contending for their rights and their homes.

Certainly there are present some of the descendants of the men who took part in that bloody and hard-fought field — for there was a large proportion of Jerseymen in that American army—and it seemed to me a not unfitting topic for the consideration of the New Jersey Historical Society, holding its meeting almost upon the scene of action, to endeavor to revive some of the particulars, and recount the chief incidents, of the battle of Monmouth Court House. Independently of the interest which belongs to the subject itself, I have the hope that, by reviving on the spot the memories of that day, some impulse may be imparted to inquiries for any anecdotes, manuscripts, or other papers, connected with those times, which may linger in the recollection, or lie uncared for in the lumber-rooms, or garrets, of the old settlers in the vicinage, and which it is the desire as it is the province of this Society to collect, embody, and preserve.

Seventy-one years ago then — on the 28th June, 1778 — was fought the battle of Monmouth Court House, between the American army commanded by George Washington, and the British army commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. It will enhance the estimate to be formed of that conflict, and of the conduct throughout it of the American forces, to preface the narrative of the battle itself, with a glance at the circumstances of the country at the time, and during the preceding trying winter.

The main army, indeed the only army of America, had passed the preceding winter in the camp of Valley Forge—exposed to famine, sickness, nakedness, and privations of every kind; while a hostile army, superior in number, well fed, well clothed, well paid, occupied comfortable quarters in Philadelphia, ready at the first approach of spring to take the field, refreshed by an easy and comparatively plen-

teous winter.

The sufferings at Valley Forge, as portrayed at the time by the honest pen of Gen. Washington, seem indeed to have been such as only the most exalted love of country could enable any army to sustain, and yet preserve its discipline and its courage. "Our army," says Washington, in a plain and energetic address to Congress, of 23d Dec. 1777,-"Our army must inevitably be reduced to one of these three things - to starve - dissolve - or disperse, in order to obtain subsistence." Referring subsequently to a movement he had ordered, with a view to intercept a detachment sent out from Philadelphia to forage, the General says he was obliged to abandon his purpose, being informed "that the men were unable to stir on account of a want of provisions, and that a dangerous mutiny begun the night before, and which was with difficulty suppressed by the spirited exertions of some of the officers, was still much to be apprehended, from the want of this article. This brought forth the only Commissary in the purchasing line in the camp, and with him this melancholy and alarming truth, that he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than 25 bbls. of flour! Form an opinion of our situation when I add he could not tell when to expect any. Soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by Congress, we have none of, nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first, indeed, we have little occasion for,-few men having more than one shirt - many only the moiety of one - and some none at In addition, by a field return made to-day, we have, besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account, no less than 2898 men now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked." Yet Congress seemed to expect that an army thus destitute should keep the field all winter, and beleaguer the British troops in Philadelphia. An actual remonstrance was made by the Legislature of Pennsylvania against Gen. Washington's going into winter quarters; in reference to which, in this same paper, he says with bitterness natural enough under the circumstances, "I can assure gentlemen it is is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fire-side, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets. However, altho' they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either relieve or to prevent."

These privations were in part occasioned by the fact that the continental money had begun to depreciate, and was unwillingly taken in payment for supplies; while the British, who held Philadelphia, paid liberal prices in gold and silver for all articles furnished to them, whether of forage, clothing, or provisions.

This army it was, naked, hungry, and unpaid, which, in the month of Dec. 1777, went into the dreary encampment, for the winter, of Valley Forge — a tract of wood-land — where the soldiers were to construct their own huts.

In his order of the day of 17th December, their great commander, after expressing his deep regret that he could not conduct his troops into better winter quarters, and setting forth the reasons, all of a public nature, why Valley Forge, and not some other part of the country, was selected, then adds—"These cogent reasons have determined the General to take post in the neighborhood of this camp, and influenced by them, he persuades himself that the officers and soldiers with one heart and mind will resolve to surmount every difficulty with a fortitude and patience becoming their profession, and the sacred cause in which they are engaged. He, himself, will share in the hardships and partake of every inconvenience."

This memorable order concludes with this memorable exhortation: "To-morrow being the day set apart by the honorable Congress, for public thanksgiving and praise, and duty calling us devoutly to express our grateful acknowledgement to God for the manifold blessings he has granted us, the General directs that the army remain in its present quarters, and that the chaplains perform divine service with their several corps and brigades, and earnestly exhorts all officers and

soldiers whose absence is not indispensably necessary, to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day."

On the 29th May, 1778 - only 30 days before the battle of Monmouth - the American army still lying at Valley Forge, Gen. Washington thus writes to Gen. Gates: "The enemy are yet in possession of Philadelphia, in full force, and we have near 4000 men in this army sick of the small pox and other diseases"—the total force (sick included) did not much exceed 11,000 men. It was this ill-provided, starving, sickly army, nevertheless, which, when apprized on 18th June that the British troops had evacuted Philadelphia, and crossed into New Jersey, with the view of traversing that State to New York, showed all the alacrity of volunteers, and marched to battle with all the confidence of veterans. A very important political event had indeed occurred during the winter of '77-8. The King of France had openly taken part with America — had recognized our independence - formed a treaty of commerce and alliance with us - and although as yet no French force had been sent to our assistunce, it seemed hardly doubtful that such aid would soon follow.

Inspirited by this hope—and led by its great commander, the American army, as soon as apprized that the enemy had crossed into New Jersey, and taken the route to Moorestown and Mount Holly, passed the Delaware at a point 33 miles above Philadelphia, then known as Corryell's Ferry, now Lambertville, Hunterdon county, and marched through Hopewell, towards Princeton, keeping the high ground, in order to be master of its own actions, and to be in position to fight or to decline battle, as should be deemed most expedient.

Washington, with his habitual daring, desired to attack the foe, but the council of war, to which this question was submitted, overruled this wish, and determined that nothing more should be attempted than to harrass by all means possible the march of the English through New Jersey. Gen. Chas. Lee, the second in command under Washington, was strenuous in opposing any general action. This officer had lately been exchanged, after his capture in Dec. 1776, by a party of light horse under Capt. Harcourt, who surprised Gen. Lee at Baskenridge, where — some miles from his army — he had taken up his quarters under the protection of a slight guard. Great confidence was reposed by the country in Gen. Lee's military experience and skill, and as yet no distrust of his fidelity and disinterestedness prevailed. Generals Duportail and Steuben concurred in opinion with Lee—and out of seventeen general officers of whom the council

consisted, two only, Wayne and Cadwallader were for bringing the enemy to action. Lafayette rather favored the views of these two Generals, and Gen. Green was inclined to risk more, while hanging on the rear of the British, than the majority of the council deemed prudent. Washington, aware of these facts, and eager himself for battle, resolved on his own responsibility to take such measures as might force it on. The two armies were nearly equal in numerical force, though the British were greatly superior in all the appointments for war—the force under Gen. Washington was estimated at about 11,000 men, that under Sir Henry Clinton at 10,000.

On 24th June the British lay at Allentown, while the main body of Americans was in Hopewell township, about five miles from Princeton. The uncertainty which had hitherto prevailed as to the line of march which the British army designed to pursue, whether by New Brunswick and the Raritan river to New York, or by Freehold and Middletown to Sandy Hook, being dissipated, Washington put his forces in motion towards Monmouth.

The march thus far through New Jersey had been in this wise. As soon as Washington ascertained that Gen. Clinton had crossed the Delaware, he detached Gen. Maxwell, with his Jersey brigade. and such militia of the state as he could collect, to interrupt and impede his march by every obstruction in their power - so as to give time to the main American army — obliged to make a large circuit in order to cross the Delaware in safety - to come up and take advantage of any favorable circumstances that might present themselves. After crossing at Corryell's Ferry, he further detached Col. Morgan with a select corps of 600 men to reinforce Maxwell. But the slow advance of the British seemed to manifest a design and desire to bring on a general action, and to tempt Washington down from the high grounds he was following, into the plains through which the British were marching, and where their superiority in cavalry could be made As the weather was rainy and excessively hot, and the American troops were greatly fatigued and harrassed, Gen. Washington. for the purpose of resting and refreshing them - now well assured that the enemy did not seek to elude him - halted for two days at Hopewell. On the 24th June he ordered a further detachment of 1500 picked troops, under Gen. Scott, to reinforce those already in the vicinity of the enemy, the more effectually to annoy and delay their march. On the 25th the American army marched to Kingston. and receiving sure intelligence there that the enemy was directing his route on Monmouth Court House, and still anxious to bring on a general action, Gen. Washington detached Brig. Gen. Wayne, with another 1000 of picked troops, to join the force already hanging on the rear and flank of the enemy, and confided the command of the whole to Lafayette.

As a matter of right, Lee, the second in rank to Washington, was entitled to the command; but he declined it, not supposing that an attack was intended. This tallied entirely with Gen. Washington's wish, who preferred very much that Lafayette, whom he knew to be desirous of fighting the enemy, should have charge of this select corps, rather than Lee, whom he knew to be averse to hazarding a battle.

Accordingly Lafayette pressed close upon the British rear-encumbered with an immense train of baggage wagons, cattle, horses, &c., stretching over a line of 12 miles - under the protection of Gen. Kniphausen and his Hessians. The order to Lafayette was to take the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear, with assurances that Washington would be at hand with the main army to support him. Accordingly the main body moved on the evening of the 25th from Kingston, where the baggage was left, and reached Cranberry early the next morning. A heavy storm and intensely hot weather prevented the troops from resuming their march on the 26th. The advanced corps, however, moved forward, and took post in the evening of 26th on the Monmouth road, about five miles from the British rear - with the purpose of attacking it next morning - but the main army, owing to its forced halt at Cranberry, having been thrown out of supporting distance, Gen. Washington sent an order to Lafayette to file off by his left towards Englishtown, which he effected early on the 27th.

The enemy, in marching from Allentown, having discovered that considerable bodies of Americans were hovering on his rear, and apprehensive for his baggage, changed the disposition of his troops, and advancing the rear of the column under Kniphausen, the baggage train included, to the front, constituted the rear guard of his best troops, consisting of all the grenadiers, light infantry and chasseurs of the line—commanded by Lord Cornwallis. Owing to this change, Washington decided still farther to reinforce his advance—and consequently Gen. Lee, who had by this time found that the fact of his declining the command of the advance was operating unfavorably to his reputation, was, at his own urgent request, sent forward with two brigades, carrying the whole force up to 5000 men, of all whom Gen. Lee was to assume the command—with this reservation, however,

that if Lafayette had matured any plan for attacking the enemy, he was to be permitted to carry it out, and retain the command for its execution. This not having been the case, Gen. Lee assumed the command, and on the same day, the 27th, the main army marched forward, encamping within three miles of Englishtown.

The enemy were strongly posted at Freehold, with their right extending about a mile and a half beyond the Court House, to the parting of the roads leading to Shrewsbury and Middletown - and their left along the road from Allentown, about 3 miles this side of the Court House. Their right flank lay on the skirt of a small wood, while their left was secured by a very thick one - a morass drawing towards their rear - their whole front covered by a wood, and for a considerable extent towards the left, by a morass. Such was the position of the British army early on the morning of the 28th June. Some 10 or 12 miles in their rear lay the Heights of Middletown, where, if once reached, Washington knew they would be unassailable by his army - and still burning for action, he determined to attack the British rear the moment it should move. He accordingly ordered Gen. Lee, commanding the advance, to make his dispositions for such attack - to keep his troops lying on their arms - taking care to have the main body under his own command in a like state of preparation.

About 5 A. M. on the morning of the 28th, Gen. Dickerson, who with his Jersey militia was watching the left of the enemy, sent word to Washington that they had begun their march. Immediately Washington put his own army in motion, and sent positive orders to Lee to attack, "unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary"—informing him at the same time, that he would be up to support the attack.

In conformity with these orders, Lee, lying with his forces at Englishtown, ordered a brigade to approach the rear of the enemy, and the regiments which led were those commanded by Col. Duryee and Col. Grayson. Wayne soon followed with his detachment, but after marching about a mile was obliged to halt by the halting of the detachment in his front. In about half an hour Wayne received an order from Gen. Lee to leave his corps and advance to the front to take charge of the advance as the post of danger and of honor. Wayne obeyed immediately, and soon overtook Gen. Lee near the meeting-house, having some 600 men, with two pieces of artillery, from Scott and Woodford's brigades, drawn up. Scott's brigade was advanced up a morass, and Varnum's in rear of it. Gen. Lee said

the halt had been occasioned by the contradictory intelligence he received, as to the movements of the enemy. The troops, however, were soon put in motion again; but had not marched far before a lighthorseman brought word to the General that the British, from the heights above Freehold, where they had passed the previous night, after setting out on their way towards Middletown, had seemingly changed their purpose, faced about, and were advancing from the Court House down a road through the woods. Gen. Lee disposed his force so as to cover the roads to the woods, and ordered Colonels Butler and Jackson, with their detachments, to the front. Col. Butler led the advance, and the whole moved on till, on emerging into open ground, in front of the Court House, a body of the enemy's cavalry was perceived, drawn up north-west of the Court House, and between it and the American troops. A part of Butler's command charged these horse and drove them into the village, in much disorder, and the enemy seemed moving off. They soon, however, rallied, and made a stand, numbering, as far as then seen, about 300 horse and 200 foot, and the horse made a rapid charge upon Col. Butler. He received them with so steady and galling a fire, as to break their ranks and repulse them in such disorder, that in their retreat they carried off the foot with them. Col. Butler, acting under the immediate orders of Wayne, pursued, but was soon checked by the fire of several pieces of artillery before unperceived, and as the enemy were indicating a purpose to turn the right of the Americans; and the residue of Gen. Lee's command having come up, Wayne's original detachment was halted, in order to form and secure the right. Gen. Scott's brigade was posted in a wood, forming the left, with orders from Lee, as averred by that officer, but denied by Scott himself, to maintain that position at all hazards, -as the security of the whole depended upon the flank not being left uncovered. The enemy's force, now occupying the plain, had considerably increased. A column of artillery, with a strong covering party of foot and horse, was in the centre, while a still stronger party was directing its course towards the Court House. on the American right. After a vigorous cannonading, Col. Oswald, of our line, who had advanced to the front with his pieces, and ren. dered good service, was obliged to leave his position and recross the ravine in his rear, in order to replenish his ammunition, having expended all his round shot. At this juncture, and before any serious conflict had taken place, the American left under Scott retired, and Lee, though aware of the fatal effect of such a movement, and still apparently reluctant to hazard a general action, seems not to have

taken any steps to check this retrogade movement - which being soon followed by that of Lafayette's corps, left uncovered -led to the withdrawal from its advanced position of the whole American force, and to their retiring without a struggle before a British force of inferior numbers. How this movement originated precisely, or where the responsibility, can only be inferred from the subsequent enquiries before, and the decision of, the Court Martial which tried Gen. Lee; but its effects were most disastrous. The confidence with which the Americans had advanced to attack their enemy, and the partial success of this advance, were all lost. The troops, jaded by excessive heat, and disspirited and fatigued by marching and countermarching, were necessarily demoralized. Meanwhile, Washington, to whom Lee had communicated no tidings of the check, was urging his forces forward with all possible speed, excited by the cannonade between the advanced corps and the enemy, and eager for the fray. After he had marched about five miles, near midday, he met the advanced corps retiring before the enemy, without having made a single effort to maintain their ground. "Those whom he first fell in with, neither understood the motives of Gen. Lee nor his present design, and could give no other information than that by his order they had fled without fighting. Col. Harrison, one of his aids, whom Gen. Washington sent forward to ascertain the meaning of such an unexpected movement, fell in successively with several officers and corps, all retreating, and all ignorant of the reason why. Col. Ogden. among others, commanding a regiment in Maxwell's brigade, who was slowly following his retreating corps, with the indignation so finely intimated in the Latin poet's metaphor-"iraque leonum vinclæ recusantum," with the fierce wrath of the lion disdaining his chains when interrogated by Col. Harrison as to the cause of the retreat, answered with great apparent exasperation, "By God, sir, they are flying from a shadow." Another New Jersey officer, Lieut. Col. Rhee, when asked the same question, manifested equal dissatisfaction at the retreat, but could give no account of the reasons why.

It can hardly be matter of surprise, that Washington, who had so perseveringly insisted on his first purpose, not to let the British army pass through New Jersey without an attempt to give them battle, should, when he saw the last chance, and that, as everything seemed beforehand to promise, a favorable one, sacrificed without any assigned cause—it is not to be wondered at, that even his habitual self-command should have abandoned him, when, on riding hurriedly to the rear of the retreating column, he fell in with Gen. Lee, he

addressed him in language, and still more with a manner, that implied extreme dissatisfaction and reproach. "What is all this?" was the abrupt and plain salutation of Washington on coming up with Lee The latter did not or would not hear it. Washington repeated "What means all this confusion and this retreat?" Lee replied, he saw no confusion but what arose from disobedience to his orders, and contradictory reports as to the force and movements of the enemy." Washington said it was only a covering party of the enemy before which Lee had retreated. Lee replied, it might be so, but they were stronger than he was, and he did not think it proper to risk so much, or words to that effect. Washington retorted, "that he should not then have undertaken the service," and rode disdainfully past him, in order to rally some of the flying regiments. His own aid, Col. Harrison, soon after came up, saying the British were close at hand, pressing hard upon our rear: that in 15 minutes they would be up. Gen. Washington succeeded in forming Col. Stewart's regiment, and Lt. Col. Ramsay's. Col. Livingston had formed his regiment behind the hedge-row, where the principal action that ensued was fought; and Lt. Col. Rhee, who knew the ground, being sent for by Washington, preparations were made for battle; - and Lee having come up, Washington asked him if he would take the command of the troops, and maintain the position, whilst he himself returned to bring up the main army. Lee answered that he would obey the Commander-in-Chief's orders, and would not be the first to leave the field. Hamilton, who, as aid-de-camp, was with Washington, exclaimed, "Well said, Lee. I will remain with you, and we will all die here rather than retreat." Gen. Lee, in his defence before the Court Martial, attempts to ridicule this exclamation as the effervescence of immature youth; but the general estimate of mankind will ever be, that such effervescence which both prompts and sustains gallant actions, is to be preferred to that calculating prudence which, in the language of the brave Ogden, "flies from shadows," disconcerts well-laid sttaregic plans, and hazards the fate of empires.

Lee having accepted the command, Washington, unaffected himself, apparently, by the exhausting heat and labors which were prostrating whole companies, rode back to his main body, and returned with them to the field of strife. Lee had scarcely time to complete his preparations for defence, when the enemy were upon him. He held them in check sufficiently long to give time to the American left, under Lord Stirling, and the main army, forming a second line, to be drawn up on an eminence, with a wood in the rear and a morass in front.

When finally obliged to withdraw, Lee effected his retreat in good order, and took post behind Englishtown. The attack was then turned against the second American line, but as the British were crossing the morass in its front, they were enfiladed by Lord Stirling's artillery - advantageously posted - and this fire, with the aid of some infantry corps, also well posted, effectually put a stop to the advance. Failing in this attack, the enemy turned upon the right wing of the Americans, but there was Greene — and where Greene was, no soldierly qualification nor preparation was ever wanting. Some pieces of artillery, placed on rising ground, (Comb's Hill,) commanding his front, swept away not only the body that was assailing his position, but enfiladed severely that still remaining in front of and skirmishing with the left wing. At this moment, Wayne, furious with the morning's check, had advanced with a body of infantry, and attacked the assailants in front, with such a heavy and well-sustained fire, that they recrossed the ravine - too glad to regain the strong position from which they had descended.

The day was now far spent, and the troops, under that sweltering sun, were yet more spent. The exhausting nature of the service, and of the excessive heat, may be judged of by the answer before the Court Martial, given by Gen. Knox, the Chief of the artillery, to this question of Gen. Lee:—

Q. Do you recollect the two regiments that were placed in front of the cannon being so excessively fatigued that they had not the power to remove to the right or to the left, to give a free passage to the cannon to fire npon the enemy?

Ans. I recollect Col. Livingston's regiment being in that case. Along the brook which crossed the principal scene of battle, and in a morass covered with alder bushes, were found next day many American and British soldiers — dead without a wound — who, overwhelmed with heat and fatigue, had dragged themselves to the borders of the water, to drink and die.

But Washington, untired, meditated a renewed battle, and resolved to become the assailant, notwithstanding the strength of the British lines, with flanks secured by thick woods and morasses, and their front approachable only through a defile.

Disregarding these obstacles, Gen. Poor, with his New Hampshire brigade — yet glorious with the laurels they had won at Saratoga — and the Carolina brigade, was ordered to take post on the British right, and Woodford, with his brigade, on the left; while the artillery, adequately supported, were to attack in front. But the impediments

to taking the indicated positions on the flanks of the enemy, were so great that, before they could be surmounted, night had fallen, and Washington, still unwearied, was obliged to postpone till the morrow the great revenge he meditated. The whole army laid upon their arms, with the hope and expectation of attacking the enemy at early dawn, and Washington, wrapped in his cloak, laid himself to rest among his soldiers—the bright, calm moon and the dewey heavens looking down with impartial serenity upon the wearied sleepers, the suffering wounded, and the unconscious dead of either army—after that day of hot strife beneath a burning sun.

But earnest, as Sir Henry Clinton, in his vain glorious despatch to his government, giving an account of the battle of Monmouth, professed himself to be to bring "Mr. Washington to battle," he would not wait the morrow's dawn; but stealing away silently in the deep midnight — so silently that Gen. Poor, who lay in close proximity to his outposts, had no intimation of the movement — he had, before the light of morning roused the sleepers of the American bivouac, placed long miles between his troops and ours; so that before they could be marched, the British would already be secure among the Neversink Hills, which dip down towards Middletown.

The fleet of Lord Howe had arrived off the Hook on the very day on which the conflict was going on on the field of Monmouth. As a march to the Hook, and the embarkation of the troops under the guns of such a fleet could not be prevented, Gen. Washington was compelled to let the prey escape him, and turn his face in another direction.

Thus ended, then, the great day of Monmouth. The loss of the Americans, according to the official return, was, in killed, 8 officers and 61 privates; in wounded, 160 privates.

Among the officers killed was Lt. Col. Bowne, of Pa., and Major

Dickerson, of Va., both officers of approved merit.

Sir Henry Clinton, in his official report of the battle, puts his killed, at 4 officers and 61 rank and file; and his wounded at 15 officers and 155 rank and file, besides 3 sergeants and 56 soldiers, who died of fatigue, without a wound. Indeed, says the dispatch, "such was the heat and the fatigue, that a great part of those we lost fell dead as they advanced."

Lt. Col. Monckton, who commanded the 2nd battalion British Grenadiers, was the most conspicuous officer killed on that side. He fell gallantly leading up his command, which, after being broken by the fire from an American battery, he had rallied; and as they approached a barn in the rear of the parsonage, Wayne, having directed his men to pick out the officers, or, as he expressed it, "the king birds," ordered a fire, which killed Monckton, disabled several other officers, and completely checked the advance. "The spot near where Monckton fell, is said to be marked by an old stump, in a cultivated field, about 8 rods north-east of the parsonage." His body lies in the church yard of the old meeting house—the grave being marked by a simple, painted board, bearing record of his name, and of the time and manner of his death. This humble tribute to a soldier's memory was paid by the village schoolmaster of Freehold some few years ago—who, being English, sought thus in a foreign land to do homage to his native country, by rescuing from oblivion the final resting place of one of her honored sons.

The actual number of the British killed was much greater, however, than that reported in the official account; for Gen. Washington, in his letters to Congress, says "the enemy's slain, left on the field and buried by us, according to the return of the persons assigned to that duty, were four officers and 245 privates. Exclusive of these, they buried some themselves, as there were several new graves near the field of battle."

Leaving the ever faithful and ever ready Maxwell and the active Morgan to follow in the rear of the retreating enemy, and to protect the country from marauding depredations, Washington marched to New Brunswick, to be ready for any enterprise which the future movements of the enemy might suggest. Grateful for the heroism no less than for the fortitude and endurance of his soldiers, Washington would probably have overlooked Gen. Lee's misconduct; but that arrogant and and ill-advised officer, stung with the consciousness of a degraded position before the world, addressed to the Commander-in-Chief letters at once disrespectful and insubordinate, demanding an explanation of Washington's manner and language on the field, and calling for a Court Martial. A Court was instantly ordered, Lord Stirling presiding; and after protracted investigation, from July 4th to 2d August, Gen. Lee was found guilty of the three charges:

1. Disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on 28th June, agreeably to repeated instructions.

2. Misbehavior before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat.

3. Disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief, in two letters of 28th June and 1st July.

The sentence was suspension for one year - which Congress con-

firmed. Lee forthwith retired from the army, became a planter in Virginia, lived the life of a recluse, writing calumnies upon Washington, and dying, finally, unnoticed and most obscurely in Philadelphiathough when dead, by one of those caprices not uncommon in popular governments, buried with all honor, and even seeming regret, by the public authorities of the city, where his life had been permitted to go out without an enquiry.

In the army which fought at Monmouth was assembled a very large proportion of the distinguished officers, foreign and native, of our Lafayette, Steuben, Duportail, were among American revolution. the foreigners - Washington, Lee, Greene the future hero of the the South - Stirling, Knox Washington's future Secretary of War-Wayne, Paterson, Woodford, Scott, Maxwell, Cadwallader, Poor, Dickerson, and Heard, were among the native general officers. Among the field officers were, from New Jersey, Col. Shreve, Frelinghuysen, two Ogdens, Matthias and Aaron, McRea, and not least, Morgan, of the rifles, who, though not in the battle, for lack of orders, was chafed almost into madness by being near enough to hear the roar of the conflict, and yet without orders to join in it. Col. Alex. Hamilton and Lt. Col. Aaron Burr commanding at the time Col. Malcolm's N. Y. regiment, were also in the hottest part of the conflict.

In no one of his battles, possibly, were the personal qualities of the Commander-in-Chief more influential than in Monmouth. His overawing presence, when riding up to Lee and checking his shameful retreat, saved the day. "Never," said Lafayette, "was Washington greater in war than in this action. His presence stopped the retreat: his dispositions fixed the victory: his fine appearance on horseback, his calm courage roused to animation by the vexations of the morning,

gave him the air best calculated to excite enthusiasm."

He exposed himself throughout the day like a soldier, while combining all the movements with the far-reaching sagacity and coolness of the great commander; and his iron frame and indomitable spirit seemed to suffer no attaint from burning suns, or parching thirst, or Most justly did the President of Congress, fatigue, or exposure. write to Washington, "Our acknowledgements are especially due to Heaven for the preservation of your person, necessarily exposed, for the salvation of America, to the most imminent danger on the late occasion".

It is not without interest to add that this fierce battle was fought on Sunday; and the contrast of such a Sunday of revolutionary annals with the calm and holy observance of that day now, among the people whom Monmouth, and the yet fiercer battles after Monmouth, made free, is not among the least striking manifestations that God is with us as a nation; -- for where then was the rushing charge, the roar of cannon, and rattling musketry, the agony of the wounded, and the despair of the dying, are now only heard and seen on the still, quiet morn of that holy day, the church-going bell, the succession of family after family - fathers, mothers, children - in neat attire, wending their way to the house of God - there to pay homage meet to His Almighty Power, and pour out grateful thanks for his manifold mercies - not the least of which mercies it is, that we are dwelling in freedom and security, with none to make us afraid, in homes enlightened by education, and sanctified by unfettered religious faith. For the defence of such enjoyments and such privileges, our fathers thought it no wrong to draw the sword and to use it, on Sundays as on week days. May their children show themselves, when need is, worthy of such progenitors - ready at all times to emulate their example -- ready to live and die for Freedom, Faith, and Country!



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. IV. 1850. No. 4.

TRENTON, January 17th, 1850.

THE SOCIETY convened in this city to-day according to the By-Laws-The President, Hon. Joseph C. Hornblower, called the meeting to order at 12 o'clock:—Col. Robert G. Johnson and Hon. James Parker, Vice Presidents, being also present.

After the reading of the minutes of the last meeting the Corresponding Secretary made his report, and laid upon the table letters from Messrs. Alexander B. Thompson, of New York, and P. J. Gray, of Camden, acknowledging their election as members of the Society: from Mrs. Mary W. Thompson, widow of the late Col. Alexander R. Thompson, U. S. A., transmitting a copy of the works of Colonel Humphreys for the library, and giving some account of the services rendered the country by different members of the De Hart family of Elizabethtown: from Col. Robert G. Johnson, accompanying a donation,—from the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Maryland,—the Smithsonian Institution, the Regents of the University of the State of New York, the American Antiquarian Society and the American Philosophical Society, on matters connected with the operations of the Society.

He also submitted the Librarian's Report, which represented the Library to be increasing both in the number of volumes and in interest to the historian;—139 volumes and 509 pamphlets had been added by donation during the year, and 190 volumes had been purchased; the whole number of volumes at the present time being 1163, exclusive of duplicates and unsold copies of the Society's Collections.

The Treasurer's Report was presented, duly audited, showing the balance of cash on hand to be \$238 52, and the sum of \$1596 to be due from members for initiation fees and annual dues. The number of Resident members being 356, exclusive of 16 Life members.

The Rev. Dr. Murray read the Annual Report of the Executive Committee. They say therein that the Society having surmounted the difficulties always surrounding the establishment of a new enterprise, and passed the stage where novelty excites interest and attracts the multitude, it became the duty of the enlightened minds of our commonwealth to maintain its life and energetic progress by a steady devotion.

Although in the short period of five years, three volumes had been given to the public, in addition to a mass of valuable materials in its printed Proceedings, and a valuable library of reference collected, yet the liberal and educated of the State should not rest satisfied until the history of New Jersey is written in a manner worthy of her position and services.

The Committee referred to the difficulty they had encountered in prevailing upon the members to meet the necessary calls upon them for historical papers and addresses, obliging them, contrary to their wishes, to look beyond the limits of the State for gentlemen to perform services of that kind.

The Committee concluded their Report with the following allusion to the death of the venerable Dr. Miller, of Princeton:

"The name of this excellent man will be long dear to the Muse of history. Besides voluminous contributions to the history of his country, he was among the first founders of the New York Historical Society—he was the early and steadfast friend of this. And the last interview of the drafter of this Report with his venerable preceptor and friend, was in reference to some matters of business pertaining to this Society. It is fit that a man so distinguished among us, and who has done us such valuable service, should not be permitted to pass away from our ranks without due notice."

JUDGE DUER, from the Committee on Publications, reported the publication of another number of the Society's Periodical, and called the attention of the Society to the large amount of uncollected subscriptions. While no member is required to receive the periodical, yet, so long as no disinclination is made known, the publishing agent is bound to send the numbers as they appear; and the small sums due

therefor from various parts of the State, not warranting the appointment of special collectors, the members are necessarily expected to respond promptly to the terms of subscription.

At the present time more than \$500 are due from those who have received the Periodical without dissent. The Committee are anxious to improve the size and appearance of the numbers, and will do so as

soon as the receipts will warrant the additional expense.

The Committee requested to be discharged from the matters referred to them at the last meeting, connected with the articles in the Trenton State Gazette, commenting upon certain members of the Society, inasmuch as the Editor of that paper declined furnishing any statements, and objected to the reference of the subject to this Committee of the Society. They were accordingly released from the further consideration of the subject.

Mr. Wm. B. Kinney, from the Committee on Purchases, reported that since the last meeting between thirty and forty volumes, interesting and valuable to the historian, had been added to the library by purchase. But the Committee regretted to state that their exertions to obtain complete sets of the Journals of the State Senate and Assembly, had, as yet, been ineffectual. They requested the members to aid them, by making inquiries in their respective neighborhoods, and informing the Librarian of any volumes they may discover, obtainable by purchase or as donations.

The Committee also ask for information respecting files of old newspapers, of which it is very desirable that the Society should possess as many as can now be rescued from the lumber rooms and

garrets which are their usual receptacles.

Mr. W. A. WHITEHEAD, from the Committee on Statistics, presented the Criminal Statistics of Salem County from May 1st, 1840, to May 1st, 1849—showing the number of commitments, with the offences charged; a classification of the offenders; the number of indictments found, and the result of the prosecutions, &c. &c., which had been received from Col. Robert G. Johnson, of Salem.

Mr. Peter S. Duryee, in the absence of the Hon. James G. King, Chairman of the Committee charged with the expenditure of the Fund raised to procure an Analytical Index to the Colonial Documents in England, reported:—That since the last meeting of the Society they had had farther advices from Mr. Stevens, of the progress made in his researches, and the pleasure to receive from him a List of the Journals

of the Colonial Council and Assembly which he has met with in the State Paper Office, verifying the supposition, before expressed, that a

complete set of both would there be found.

A copy of this list was transmitted, soon after its receipt, to the Governor, and in his Annual Message to the Legislature, he drew the attention of that body to the propriety of making an appropriation to secure copies of all such as may be necessary to render the archives of the State perfect. It is for the Society to determine whether it is advisable, through a Committee, to second the suggestion of the Governor, by memorial or otherwise. What the Society has already done, deserves some favorable consideration at the hands of the Legislature, and it can scarcely be doubted that universal satisfaction would be felt at the adoption of any measure calculated to remedy the deficiencies that now exist in the public records.

The whole amount received by the Committee towards the fund has been \$530, of which \$450 have been remitted to England. The balance will be required to defray farther expenses attending the agency, and it is desired that the remainder of the sum originally contemplated (\$600) should be raised to meet such other expenditures as the proper arrangement and preservation of the Index may require

after its receipt.

A discussion ensued, participated in by Messrs. Field, Duer, Parker, Kinney, Whitehead and others, as to the mode of forwarding the recommendation of the Governor before the Legislature; after which it was—

Resolved, That Messrs. Field, Murray, Whitehead and Potts be a Committee to draw up a memorial to the Legislature, urging a prompt attention to the subject of the New Jersey Colonial Documents in England, and explanatory of the views of the Society in relation thereto.

Rev. Dr. Murray, from the Nominating Committee, presented the names of several gentlemen proposed as Resident and Corresponding members, who were all duly elected, and further nominations were received.

The President announced the Standing Committees for the ensuing year, as follows:

On Publications-Messrs. W. A. Duer, Murray, Field, Doane, Wm.

B. Kinney, W. A. Whitehead, and Cogswell.

On Purchases—Messrs. W. B. Kinney, Davidson, D. V. McLean, Field, and Mulford.

On Statistics—Messrs. W. A. Whitehead, Bradley, Jackson, Potts, and Starr.

On Nominations—Messrs. Murray, Prof. Maclean, and D. A. Hayes. He also named as a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Messrs. Kirkpatrick, Gifford, King, W. Rutherfurd, and Field.

The Society then adjourned for dinner.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At three o'clock, P. M., the Society again convened, the Hon. James Parker, Vice President, in the chair.

Mr. W. A. WHITEHEAD read the Society a letter from the Rev. Uzal Ogden, missionary to Sussex Co., written in 1771, descriptive of the country, and of the state of religion in that part of the province at that time.

Col. Johnson presented a copy of a "Lease for a year from the Right Hon. Dame Elizabeth Carteret, and Trustees of the Right Honorable Sir George Carteret, to the twelve Proprietors for East New Jersey, dated February 1681–2."

The Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, having reported the names of those gentlemen now in office, they were unanimously re-elected, as follows:

Hon. JOSEPH C. HORNBLOWER, LL. D., President.

Col. Robert G. Johnson, Vice Presidents,

WM. A. WHITEHEAD, Corresponding Secretary.

DAVID A. HAYES, Recording Secretary.

SAMUEL H. PENNINGTON, M. D., Librarian.

James Ross, Treasurer.

Executive Committee—Rev. NICHOLAS MURRAY, D. D., Rev. DAN-IEL V. McLean, D. D., WM. B. KINNEY, ARCHER GIFFORD, STACY G. Potts, Rev. John Maclean, D. D., LITTLETON KIRKPATRICK, Rt. Rev. George W. Doane, D. D., LL. D., Hon. E. B. D. Ogden.

PRESIDENT KING—whose connection with Columbia College in New York has not destroyed his interest in the Society, of which he has been so valuable a member—here introduced M. Alexander Vattemare, an Honorary member of the Society, and alluded in appropriate terms to his useful labors in establishing and perfecting

the system of international exchanges, from which New Jersey had greatly profited—a second donation of many interesting and valuable works from various cities and public bodies in France, being about to be transmitted to the Governor for distribution. Mr. King, on concluding, presented the following resolution—

Resolved, That a Committe be appointed to confer with the Governor upon the reception and distribution of the works about to be received from Mr. Vattemare, Agent for International Exchanges—

Which, after some remarks from Judge Duer, was adopted.

The Chair, on rising to put the question, cordially welcomed Mr. Vattemare, and expressed in behalf of the society, their gratification at having with them one to whom so much was due for his labors to promote good feeling among the different nations of the earth.

Messrs. Kinney, King and Field were appointed the Committee.

Mr. Vattemare returned his thanks for the kind reception extended to him. If in his endeavors to foster kind feelings between different countries by effecting exchanges of their intellectual productions, he had been so fortunate as to gratify his friends in America, it must be remembered that Europe had been also greatly benefitted by valuable contributions, which were estimated not by the number of volumes but by the variety and interest of the works. They could well afford to bestow of their abundance to secure such returns; and consequently no fear would be entertained that the exchanges were unequal because the same number of volumes were not sent back.

He spoke of the value, to the nations of Europe, of collections from the "great book of Nature," of the minerals, the reptiles, the birds, and other natural productions of the country, as he had told his friends in Louisiana, an alligator would be received as full compensation for a Venus de Medicis, or a bull-frog in exchange for the most valuable tome. And referred to the plan—which has been successfully carried into execution in Europe—of preserving specimens of the Forest trees of any district of country by constructing small boxes, resembling books, the backs of which would show the bark, the sides, the grain and polish of the wood, while within would be found the leaves, the fruit, the seed, &c., of each tree. The system was one calculated to excite good will, remove prejudices, and make all men truly brethren.

BISHOP DOANE said it gave him great pleasure to meet Mr. Vattemare whom he had so long and so favorably known by reputation, and to hear his own interesting exposition of his system, which was really a gospel of love to the human family. He had been much

struck with the applicability to Mr. Vattemare of the words of Shakspeare,—for he seemed one who

"Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

In answer to an enquiry by Judge Duer, Mr. Vattemare stated that no objection had ever been raised to the receipt of any political works from America, not even in Austria. The system was considered as based upon a principle above any and all political opinions, "The Republic of Letters," embraced in its domain as well Empires and Kingdoms as Republics. When he first introduced the subject to Prince Metternich, he had, himself, suggested the probability that some works might be objected to; but the Prince stated his desire to have "every thing,"—and said, not only that the scheme was good, but that he had entertained the same idea himself; which the then Minister of Foreign Affairs had significantly observed was conclusive evidence of its merits. The Emperor of Russia had also cordially consented to a liberal interchange of works with America.

The hour of 4 having arrived, Archer Gifford, Esq., of Newark, read to the Society a paper on the Aborigines of New Jersey; for which, on motion of Mr. Wm. B. Kinney, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Gifford, and a copy requested to be placed in the hands of the Committee on Publications.

Mr. Field alluded in brief but feeling terms to the death of Dr. Miller, and was followed by Dr. Murray, Dr. Proudfit, the President, and others, and a resolution offered by Mr. Field was adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee express to the family of the late Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., in such manner as they may deem advisable, the sensibility of the Society to the loss which it, in common with the community generally, has sustained, and convey to them their sincere sympathy and condolence.

The Society then adjourned to meet at Newark on the third Thursday of May next, in accordance with the by-laws.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS

Laid before the Society, January 17th, 1850.

FROM MRS. MARY W. THOMPSON.

SOUTH BROOKLYN, Nov. 26th, 1849.

To the New Jersey Historical Society:

Gentlemen—I herewith have the honor to present to you, together with some other papers, the works of Col. Humphreys, a scholar and patriot of the Revolution, published in 1790.

Instead of confining myself to a simple donation of the book, I will, by your indulgence, express some thoughts upon matters in which I have felt personally interested, and which I hope may not be considered out of place among other more important transactions of

your Society.

The original manuscript of this work is among the collections of the New York Historical Society, where it was deposited, as I have been informed, by Colonel John Trumbull, an old friend of the author; and the book may have some value in your estimation, as containing notices of a young Jerseyman, Lieutenant Maurice De-Hart, who fell in an attack on Fort Lee, in the war of the Revolution, being Aid-de-Camp to General Irvine, and on the occasion of his death volunteer Aid to General Wayne. His death is the subject of an elegy, and is also referred to in another part of the work, where it is associated with the names of Warren and Montgomery.

The late Captain W. C. DeHart, in the course of some interesting publications which illustrate the ancient glory of his native town, mentions the name of this officer. It is remarkable that the children of Dr. Mathias DeHart, of Elizabetown, (1) were all identified with the struggle for Independence, three sons having been commissioned officers in actual service, and two daughters married to officers of the Army.

⁽¹⁾ Col. Wm. DeHart, Capt. Cyrus DeHart and Lt. A. D. C. Maurice DeHart. Margaretta married Jesse Baldwin, of Newark, Lieutenant and Quartermaster, (his first wife.) Amelia married Capt. Alex. Thompson, of N. Y.

The example and teachings of the old stock have not been lost upon a succeeding generation, but have added fresh laurels to the military annals of our country. Captain DeHart, of whom, since the grave has closed upon his mortal remains it may be lawful to speak in the terms of high eulogium, was well known to you as a gentleman of rare literary accomplishments, and in the science of military law as an advocate and author, of high judicial attainments. He distinguished himself by gallant and faithful service in Mexico—spared, indeed, from death in a perilous campaign, but to endure the tortures of a lingering disease, whose only alleviation was the reflection that he was blest in his last moments by the consolations of Religion, in the bosom of his family, and the home of his fathers.

The bloody fields of Cerro Gordo, Contreras and Cherubusco, remind us of other deeds of noble daring within his family circle. A kinswoman of Captain DeHart welcomes the return in triumph (though not unscathed) of her husband, Major J. R. Smith, from the deadly strife—twice severely wounded, but still retaining his position with but seven men, till all were shot around him save one who assisted him from the field. A friendship of long standing formed from his connection with my deceased husband's old regiment, must excuse the liberty which I have taken in thus transferring the honorable notice of his gallant conduct from the official despatches.

I trust it will be pardoned in me to speak here of another relative (a nephew) of Maurice De Hart. I allude to my lamented husband, the late Colonel Alexander R. Thompson, whose life was surrendered on the battle-field of Okee-cho-bee in Florida, whose character and services have become familiar to the country. In the language of the Major General, now commanding the Army of the United States who has inscribed his epitaph, "With morals founded on Christian Piety, his life was exemplary, as his death was glorious. The son of a gallant officer of the Revolutionary Army, his devotion to country was the dictates of principle and example." Although Colonel Thompson was a native of New York, it seems to me appropriate that a record of his memory should be in the possession of your Society, as he was related on the maternal side to a New Jersey family, and as his father commenced his military life in your State at the time of the occupation of the city of New York by the British Army.

In conclusion, I will observe, that the alliance of an illustrious citizen of New Jersey, (Winfield Scott,) who ranks by common consent among the greatest chieftains of the age, with a lady (2) who is a col-

⁽²⁾ Mrs. Mayo, of Va., the mother of Mrs. Gen. Scott, was a DeHart, of Elizabeth-town.

lateral relative of the gallant youth whose death is commemorated in the volume which I present to you, adds another link to the chain which binds the heroic era of the Revolution with the achievements of modern times.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Most respectfully, &c. &c.

MARY W. THOMPSON.

COPY OF A LETTER

From the Rev. Uzal Ogden, Missionary to Sussex Co., New Jersey, to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

PRESENTED BY MR. W. A. WHITEHEAD.

NEW Town, Sussex County, July 8th, 1771.

Reverend Sir,—

Permit me now Sir to give first a short account of the country wherein I reside. 2dly an account of the state of affairs respecting the Church, and 3dly an account of my labours since June 6th, 1770.

First, As to the County of Sussex. It is an exteriour county of New Jersey, about 60 miles in length and 30 in breadth, situated on the River Delaware, which is navigable to the city of Philadelphia [which] is about 100 miles distant and New York the distance of 60 miles. To these cities they send their Iron, Wheat, Flaxseed, Cattle, Hams, Butter &c. The country is mountainous, the soil in common pretty good and produces excellent wheat. The inhabitants are much divided in their sentiments about religion, there being at least a dozen different denominations among them and a few Deists. The most numerous of the sectaries are the English and German Calvanists—the former have three meeting houses which are vacant. The people's being thus remarkably divided disables almost every sect from supporting the Gospel; so that in a county where there are Inhabitants sufficient to support several clergymen, there is but a single illiterate separate preacher residing in it.

Secondly—As to the state of affairs respecting the Church. The number of families in Sussex that are in communion with the Church of England is 63, the number of my catechumens by reason some families live 6 or 8 miles from the place of worship and therefore can

but seldom attend—only 41. There are several families of Lutherans in different parts of the county who are particularly desirous to associate with us. About one third part of the church members dwell in New Town (at this place I have taken lodgings) and have formed themselves into a Society. Here at first we had Divine service every other Sunday but for a reason which I shall mention presently we have public worship only one third of the time. Here also the Parsonage house is building, and it is here likewise the County Court house is built, which is very commodious and serves us to perform Divine Service in. There are about a third of the Church families who reside at Knowl Town 22 miles distant from New Town; at this place I attend Divine worship once in four weeks. Here we have a convenient building to perform public worship in but have been obliged in moderate weather by reason of the large number of people who assemble, to perform Divine service in a field.

At Hacketts-town, 16 miles and Roxbury 18 miles distant from New Town [Note. Roxbury is in Morris County] and 7 miles distant from each other reside the other third of the Church members. At first I read prayers &c. at each of these places on Sunday in every eight weeks, at Roxbury in a barn, and at Hacketts-town in the Presbyterian Meeting House; but within these three months past, at the request of the people I have officiated at each town once in 4 weeks on the same day. This indeed increases my labour but we find it

very beneficial.

Thirdly—As to my labors since June 5, 1770. Besides officiating at the several places above mentioned I have had, and complied with divers invitations to read prayers and a sermon on week days in some of the meeting houses and dwellings of the Dissenters; who, of every denomination attend Church in great numbers, on Sunday, and behave very decently; many of them had never seen our public worship performed until I came into the county and were not a little prejudiced against the Church of England; conceiting we were but little different from Papists, but prejudice wears off remarkably and several of the most bigotted of 'em are not only become constant attendants at our public worship but subscribe something towards our public buildings and to my salary.

I am with due respect Reverend Sir &c UZAL OGDEN, Jun'r.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF SALEM COUNTY.

RECEIVED FROM COL. ROBERT G. JOHNSON.

A Table of the Number of Commitments to the Jail of Salem County, New Jersey, from the 1st of May, 1840, to the 1st of May, 1849, with the Offences Charged.

OFFENCES CH	ARGED.		1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Total
Adultery, - Arson, - Assault and Battery Bigamy, - Burglary, - Forgery, - Fornication, Grand Larceny, - Horse Stealing, - Larceny, - Manslaughter, - Misdemeanor, - Murder, - Perjury, - Rape, - Robbery, - Swindling, -	:		5 1 2 6 2	8 3 1 1 5 1 4 1	6 3	10 1 2 1 11 6 2 1 2	2 2 12 1 2 3 5	8 1 2 4 11	5 2 5 1 2	8 1 5 3	6 1 1 5 3 5 1 5 2		2 2 69 1 9 2 4 10 5 50 3 41 3 2 4 2 1
Total,	•	_	16	25	16	36	28	27	16	17	29	<u> </u>	150

Classification of Persons committed to Salem County Jail, from May 1st, 1840, to May 1st, 1849.

White White Adult Adult Males.	Colored dult Males.	Colored Adult Females.	White Male Children.	Colored Male Children.	Total.
49 1	75	17	3	5	150

A Table of the Number of Indictments found, dispositions of, and punishments, in the Salem County Court, from May 1st, 1840, to the 1st of May, 1849.

Years.	No. of Indict-ments.	Plead Guilty.	Con- victed.	Acquit- ted.	No ag- reem't of Jury.	Not Tried.	Fined.	lmit'dto	Impri'd in State Penit'y	Whip- ped.
1840 1841 1842 1843 1844 1845 1846 1847 1848 1949	13 22 33 32 35 24 17 14 12 3	8 7 16 11 23 8 12 8	5 6 8 13 7 6 6 3 3	1 3 4 1 3 2 7 4 1	2	2 1 4 2 1 3	6 8 24 7 21 8 9 6 2	1 1 5 10 6 4 4 1 6	3 1 2 8 4 2 5 3 2 1	1
Total,	205	100	59	26	2	17	91	39	31	1

A Table of the different Crimes upon which Indictments were found in Salem County, from the 1st of May, 1840, to the 1st of May, 1849, with the number on each charge, each year.

OFFENCES.	1		1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Total
Adultery,							1					<u> </u>	1
Arson,	-	-					1					1	1
Assault and Battery,	-	-	6	13	14	12	10	14	6	8	6	2	90
Bigamy,	•	-				1						l	1
Burglary,	-	-				1							1
Forgery,	•	-			2			2					4
Fornication, -	•	-			1	1	16		1				19
Grand Larceny, -	-		1										1
Horse Stealing, -	-	-	1		- 3						3		4
Larceny,	-		5	2	9	8	3	5	5	3	2		41
Misdemeanor, -	-			1	2	5	4	2	2	2	1		18
Murder,	•	-		1	- 0				1	1		1	4
Perjury,	•	-		1					1				2
Rape,		-				1		1	1				4 2 3
Robbery,		-			2	2							8
Selling Liquor, -	-	-		3	3	1	1						8
Total	-	-	13	22	33	22	35	24	17	14	12	3	202

A Table of the Number of Actions brought, Judgments taken, and Verdicts recorded, in Salem Court, from May 1st, 1840, to May 1st, 1849.

	No. of Acti'ns		Judg-		ment	Assu	mpsit.	Cov	enant.	Tre	spass.
Years.	Com- m'nced	in Cir- cuit.	on Bonds	Ver-	No Verdict	Ver- dict.	No Verdict	Ver- dict.	No Ver dict.	Ver- dict.	No Ver dict.
1840	29	13	30			1					
1841 1842	73 73	27 26	61	4		3 2	1				
1843 1844	50 30	29 18	89 58	1		1 2	1				
1845 1846	43 38	20 12	64 35	4		2	,	1	2		
1847	33	9	44	1		_	•				1
1848 1849	46 15	17 6	83 35		1	1					
	430	177	606	10	1	12	5	1	2		1

COPY OFF LEASE FOR A YEAR

The Right Honble Dame Elizabeth Carteret and Trustees of the Right Honble Sir George Carteret

(to)

the twelve Proprietors

(for)

East New Jersey dated February 1 1681

PRESENTED BY COL. R. G. JOHNSON.

** As this Document is one in the Chain of Title to the Soil of New Jersey, not printed in Learning & Spicer's "Grants and Concessions" it is inserted here to facilitate a reference to it.—One of the Originals is in the Rutherfurd Collection of Papers, and another in Philadelphia, from which last this copy was taken.

This Indenture Made the ffirst day of ffebruary in the ffour and Thirtieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King Defendr of the ffaith &c. Anno Domini 1681 Between the Right Honble Dame Elizabeth Carteret Widow the relict and Sole Executrix of the last Will and Testament of the Right Honble Sr George Carteret Knt and Barrtt Deceased the Right Honble John Earl of Bath the right Honble Bernard Greenvill Esqr brother of the said Earl of Bath the Honble Sr Robert Atkyns Knt one of the Barons of his Maties Court of Excheq^r Thomas Pocock of the parish of St. Andrews Holborne in the County of Middsx Gentleman and Thomas Cremer of the same Gentleman of the One Part William Penn of Warminghurst in the County of Sussex Esqr Robert West of the Middle Temple London Esqr Thomas Rudyard of London Gentleman Samuel Groom of the parish of Stepney in the County of Middsx Marrinor Thomas Hart of Enfield in the said County of Middex Mercht Richard Mew of Stepney aforesaid Merch Thomas Willcox of London Goldsmith Ambrose Rigg of Gatton place in the County of Surrey Gentl. John Heywood Citizen & Skinner of London Hugh Hartshorn Citizen & Skinner of London Clement Plumsteed Citizen & Draper of London and Thomas Cooper of London Merchant tails of the other Part Witnesseth that the said Earl of Bath Lord Crew Bernard Greenvill Sr Robert Atkyns

and Sr Edward Atkyns by and with the Consent and direction of the said Dame Elizabeth Carteret testified by her being party to these presents and signeing and sealing the same And the said Thomas Pocock and Thomas Cremer by and with the consent and direction of the said Dame Elizabeth Carteret John Earl of Bath Thomas Lord Crew Bernard Greenvill Sr Robert Atkyns and Sr Edward Atkyns testified as aforesaid for and in consideration of the Sum of flive shillings of Lawfull money of England to them some or one of them in hand paid by the said William Penn Robert West Thomas Rudyard Samuel Groom Thomas Hart Richard Mew Thomas Willcox Ambrose Rigg John Heywood Hugh Hartshorn Clement Plumsteed and Thomas Cooper att and before the Sealing and Delivery of these presents the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge have granted bargained and sold And by these presents Do grant bargain and sell to the said William Penn Robert West Thomas Rudyard Samuel Groom Thomas Hart Richard Mew Thomas Willcox Ambrose Rigg John Heywood Hugh Hartshorn Clement Plumsteed and Thomas Cooper All that Easternly part share and portion And All those Easternly parts shares and portions of All that whole and intire Tract of Land in America heretofore called New Cœsarea or New Jersey Extending Eastward and Northward along the Sea Coasts and a certain River called Hudsons River from the East Side of a certain place or Harbour lying on the Southern part of the same Tract of Land and commonly called or known in a mapp of the said Tract of Land by the name of little Egg Harbour to that part of the said River called Hudsons River which is in flourty one degrees of Latitude being the farthermost part of the said Tract of Land and premises which is bounded by the said River and crossing over from thence in a straight line extending from that part of Hudsons River aforesaid to the Northermost branch of a certain River there called Delaware River and to the most Northerly point or boundary of the said intire Tract of Land and premises now called the North partition point And from the said North partition point Extending Southward unto the more Southernly point by a straight and Direct Line drawn through the said Tract of Land from the said north partition point unto the said South partition point called the line of partition Deviding the said Easterly part share and portion from the Westernly part share and portion of the said Tract of Land And all and every the Isles Islands Rivers Mines Mineralls Woods ffishings Hawkings Huntings ffowlings And all other Royalties Governments Powers fforts ffranchises Harbours Profits Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever unto the said Easternly part share and portion parts shares and portions of the said Tract of Land and premises belonging or in any wise apperteyning with their and every of their Appurtenances And the Revertion and Revertions Remainder and Remainders Rents Issues and Profitts of the same and of every part and parcell thereof All which said Easternly part share and portion parts shares and portions are now called by the name of East New Jersey To have and to hold the Easternly part share and portion Easternly parts shares and portions of the said Tract of Land and now called East New Jersey And all and Singular other the premises herein mentioned or intended to be hereby bargained and Sold with their and every of their Appurtenances unto the said William Penn Robert West Thomas Rudyard Samuel Groom Thomas Hart Richard Mew Thomas Willcox Ambrose Rigg John Heywood Hugh Hartshorn Clement Plumsted and Thomas Cooper and their Executors Administrators and Assigns from the day next before the date of these presents for and unto the full end and term of one whole year from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleate and ended Yielding and paying the rent of one peper Corn att the ffeast of St Michaell the Archangel if the same be lawfully demanded To the intent and purpose that by virtue of these presents and of the Statute of transferring uses into posession the said William Penn Robert West Thomas Rudyard Samuel Groom Thomas Hart Richard Mew Thomas Willcox Ambrose Rigg John Heywood Hugh Hartshorn Clement Plumsteed and Thomas Cooper may be in actuall possession of the said premises and be thereby enabled to accept of a Grant and Release of the Revertion and Inherritance thereof to them and their Heirs In Witness whereof the parties to these presents interchangeably have sett their Hands and Seales the day and year first above written

Eliz. Carteret	{seal}	Bathe	{seal}
Crewe	$\{\widetilde{seal}\}$	B. Grenvill	$\{\widetilde{s e a l}\}$
Robert Atkyns	{seal}	Edw. Atkyns	{seal}
Tho. Pocock	{seal}	Tho. Cremer	$\{\widetilde{seal}\}$

DONATIONS

Announced January 17th, 1850.

From the Maryland Historical Society—Fourth Annual Address before the Maryland Historical Society, by Thomas Donaldson.

From Col. R. G. Johnson, of Salem—A printed copy of Division and Brigade Orders, on the disbanding of the troops accompanying the Western Expedition, dated Trenton, Dec. 22, 1794.

Original Brigade Return of the Regiment at Haddonfield, Dec. 25 & 26, 1776, &c.

Original Return of Robert Newcomb's Brigade, stationed at Woodbury and vicinity, Nov. 18, 1777.

Several Continental and Provincial Bills.

From Hon. Jos. C. Hornblower—History of the Town of Litchfield, Conn., by Geo. C. Woodruff.

From Hon. Wm. L. Dayton—Letter of A. H. Palmer to Hon. J. M. Clayton, communicating a Plan for opening American Commerce with the Oriental Nations, &c.

From Joseph P. Bradley, Esq.—Address before the Literary Societies of Rutgers College July 24, 1849, by J. P. Bradley, Esq.

From the New England Historical and Genealogical Society—The October number of the N. England Historic and Genealogical Register.

From the American Philosophical Society—Proceedings of American Philos. Society, from April to September, 1849.

From Hon. D. S. Gregory—New Mexico and California, by Emery, Abert, Cooke and Johnstone.

Map accompanying the same.

From Mrs. Mary W. Thompson—Address of Rev. Dr. Ferris, at the funeral of Col. Alex. R. Thompson, (U. S. Army) delivered at West Point, May 25, 1838.

Sermon by Rev. Dr. Knox, on the occasion of the death of Col. A. R. Thompson, delivered in New York, Feb. 11, 1838.

The Miscellaneous Works of Col. D. Humphreys.

From Jacob Johnson, of Newark—Alden's New Jersey Register for 1811.

From Samuel Burnet, of Livingston—Acts of 31st Gen. Assembly of N. J., 1st Sitting, 1806.

Public Acts of Gen. Assembly of N. J., 1823.

Private Acts of Gen. Assembly of N. J., 1823.

Private Acts of 41st Gen. Assembly of N. J., 1st Sitting, 1816. Votes and Proceedings of 40th Gen. Assembly of N. Jersey, 1st Sitting, 1815.

Acts of Gen. Assembly of N. J., 1818. Imperfect.

From Mr. P. J. Gray, of Camden—Votes and Proceedings of General Assembly of Province of N. Jersey, from 1760 to 1773; incomplete-Votes and Proceedings of Gen. Assembly of State of N. J., from 1776 to 1780; incomplete.

Votes and Proceedings of Gen. Assembly of the State of N. Jersey,

from 1794 to 1800.

Journal of Council of N. Jersey, from 1776 to 1787; incomplete. Acts of Gen. Assembly of the Province of N. Jersey, from 1760

to 1770-incomplete.

A Grant in Parchment of Sam'l Wharton to Henry Dawkins and John Ellis of an undivided seventy-second part of a tract of Land in North America, beginning on the River Ohio opposite the Scioto, thence Southerly through the Pass of Cuasioto M'ts, thence along the South side of said Mountains North-easterly to the Fork of the Great Kanawha, &c., &c., agreed to be purchased of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, by Hon. Thos. Walpole, John Sargent, Benjamia Franklin, and Samuel Wharton, January 4, 1770, &c.

From Mr. Isaac Collins, of Philadelphia-Memoir of the late Isaac

Collins, of Burlington, New Jersey.

From Mr. James Crane, of Elizabethtown—An Almanae of 1785,

printed in New York.

Grant from State of New York, for 100 acres of land in the Township of Junius, 1795.

TREASURER'S REPORT, January 17th, 1850.

James Ross, Treasurer, in Account with the New Jersey Historical Society.

1006 81			1006 81	10
deposit in the Newark 238 52	deposit in the Newark	"Balance of Cash on hand, on deposit in the Newark Banking & Insurance Co.,		
Collection of \$294, dues, 29 40	Collection of \$294, dues,	" Commission of 10 per cent. for Collection of \$294, dues,		
sales of 26 copies of Vol.	sales of 26 copies of Vol. 1.50,	"Commission of 10 per cent. on sales of 26 copies of Vol. III. Society's Collections, at \$1.50,		
sales of Vol. II. Society's	sales of Vol. II. Society's	"Commission of 10 per cent. on sales of Vol. II. Society's Collections,		
stage, and other incidental 50 91	stage, and other incidental	"Cash paid for Stationery, Postage, and other incidental expenses,	98	s of Vol. III. of the Society's
Co., for Printing Vol. III. 449 10		"Cash paid Leavitt, Trow & Co., for Printing Vol. III. of Society's Collections,	8 00	from sales of Vol. II. of the Society's
chases for Library, • 130 78	chases for Library,	" Cash paid Committee on Pnrchases for Library,		"Amount of Initiation fees, and annual dues received during the year,
g up Library, 103 40		By Cash paid Committee on fittin	09 81	To Balance in the Treasury, Jan. 18, 1849, as reported, • 609 81 By Cash paid Committee on fitting up Library, •

the same, with the books of original entry, and the vouchers therefor, and finds them to be correct. The undersigned, appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer, hereby certifies that he has examined

JNO. WHITEHEAD,

Chairman of Auditing Committee.

Newark, January 16th, 1850.

MEMBERS ELECTED

JANUARY 17TH, 1850.

RESIDENT MEMBERS,

Rev. Levi S. Beebee, Freehold. Edward Burroughs, Newark. Stephen Congar, Newark. John L. McKnight, Bordentown.

Freehold. Rev. James J. Bowden, Jersey City.

Ewark. Lyman A. Chandler, Rockaway.

Alexander C. Farrington, Newark.

Ordentown. Charles Parker, Freehold.

John Tennent Woodhull, M. D., Freehold.

CORRESPONDENT MEMBERS.

James P. Barton, Zanesville, Ohio.

A. Manning Norton, Mount Vernon, Ohio. John L. Stephens, New York City.

THE ABORIGINES

OF

NEW JERSEY,

Read before the New Jersey Historical Society, January 18th, 1850,

BY

ARCHER GIFFORD, ESQ.



THE ABORIGINES.

It has been the pride of every nation to derive its ancestry from a period of earliest date, while its origin may be involved in the darkest uncertainty. Beyond the traditionary compilations of Confucius, the Celestial Empire can claim no knowledge of its commencement,—proud Rome is content to stop at the fabled nursery of Romulus,—and even she who arrogates to herself the title of the mistress of the seas, claims no existence beyond the barbarous Celtic clans of her island that fled before the imperial standards of Cæsar. The dim light of antiquity shines no brighter on this Western Hemisphere, but the silent monuments that it contains, the peculiarities of its inhabitants, and their comparative intelligence when first discovered in modern times induce the enquiries—

Who were the aborigines of New Jersey? From what race of men did they spring? Whence did they come to this continent?

These are questions not readily solved without pursuing the enquiry

through many ages and over a very large extent of country.

In taking this range it is not our intention to make any particular classification of this people as they now exist, a task so imperfectly accomplished by the ablest hands, and rendered almost impossible by reason of the migratory habits of these children of nature, in the absence of any intellectual culture, without the permanent institutions of civilization and consequent deprivation of the arts and refinements, which happily tend to consolidate and improve society. By them a bond of union is formed for purposes of protection against their foes or, more frequently, from that propensity of human nature, a predatory impulse with motives of revenge, or the acquisition of property, and thus a tribe is exterminated and another formed from the original stock as their exigencies may demand.

Assuming the best arrangement of the Indian tribes that has been submitted to us by the early writers upon the history of America, and the more recent accounts that are to be derived from the researches of our Colden, Schoolcraft, Gallatin, Catlin, Duponceau and others, we shall endeavor to ascertain from which of the ancient nations they may be supposed to have descended, how they became inhabitants of our continent, (giving as wide a scope as the limits of an historic paper will permit,) and then endeavour to confine ourselves to those tribes that have hovered around and located themselves within this region of country, and may be dignified by the title of "The Fathers of our Province;" their settlements upon and interest in the soil which we now cultivate and inhabit, with an impartial view of their characteristics and habits as a people worthy of a better fate than that of a "nation scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down, whose lands their enemies like an overflowing river hath spoiled," -not that we claim to be their descendants, although we may perhaps as well give them a paternal title as do the people of England's soil, who assume for their proavi the ancient Britons whose blood has been mingled with that of their Roman invaders, their Norman conquerors, and the hordes that have swept down upon them from the North until like the Assyrians they may be said with truth to have lost their identity, and to be composed only of the people of all other nations. But we should not scorn the origin that may be traced in some cases to run on to fame and honor. There are indeed within the limits of the proudest state of our Union, those whose voices were once raised and even now may be heard in the highest councils of our Republic, imposing the gravest silence and respect, whose lips spake wisdom, who have followed out the sources of their line to the daughters of their wildest forests. Talk to them of their "First Families" and they dwell with pride upon the noble qualities and virtue of that dauntless Indian maid, who interposed herself between the captive seaman and the cruel preparations for his death, and thus became the mother of the Randolph's, Bollen's, and Robinson's of Virginia. But to our purpose, and in order to arrive at some degree of certainty as to the first peopling of American soil, we will consult those writers whose earliest researches and devotedness to such inquiries entitles them to consideration in this place.

We cannot vouch for the statements of that learned Antiquarian Rafinesque, who tells us that in the year of the world 1200, or 2800 years before the Christian era, the magnetic needle was introduced, and in use, because in the books of the Chinese historians, it is related

that 307 years after the Deluge, embassies were sent to the Celestial Empire from foreign countries, or that the three sons of Noah with this knowledge divulged by their father set foot upon our continent before it was severed from Asia and Africa, 200 years after the flood in the days of Peleg, when as the sacred record informs us, the earth was divided.* Nor are we prepared to accredit the learned Doctor Clark, that in the time of the patriarch Job, the pathway of the mariner through the seas was directed to our shores by this Cynosure, because of the expression, "no mention shall be made of coral, or of pearls, for the price of wisdom is above rubies," implying that this wisdom that aided man to make the discovery of the magnetic needle, and apply it to the purposes of navigation, on account of its polarity, is the wisdom which is above rubiest altho' the wars and revolutions which are incident to society, may have tended to the loss of that knowledge, a conclusion as warrantable as to believe that men of that age, as in this, could direct the winged lightning in a pathway to convey momentary intelligence, or, create, at once, pulsations of the minutest periods of time between the extremes of a continent. There are also accounts of the Egyptians, as a maritime people by the aid of the Phænicians, as early as fourteen centuries before Christ, passing through the Mediterranean and skirting the entire coast of Africa, and also of the Norwegians, who visited America from Greenland in the tenth century,† and there are other statements more within the range of probability, as related by Calmet, who adduces classical authority respecting the discovery of America, and the origin of its inhabitants; that voyages were frequent about the time of the Christian era, and that the adventurous Phænicians first opened the way for the Romans, Greeks, and Carthaginians.

It would be a wearisome task to give the various speculations that have been made on this subject, and their authorities, and yet there are two or three of them which we will briefly notice, as most agreeable to reason, and supported by such proofs in connection with Sacred

^{*} Gen. x. 25.

[†] The attractive properties of the load-stone must have been observed from its first discovery, and there is every reason to believe that the magnet and its virtues were known in the East long before they were known in Europe.—Dr. Clarke, in notes, on Book of Job.

[‡] Lord Monboddo supposes the continent of America to have been known to the people of the old world as early as the siege of Troy, which was 1100, B. C., about the time of Solomon, or rather 100 years before that king, nearly 3000 years since. Iceland being peopled from Norway and Greenland from Iceland, and from thence to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, about 1000, A. D.—See Amer. Antiq.

History, as to have left little doubt among the learned with regard to the source from whence the Indians who inhabited America on its discovery were derived. In following out these theories it will not be expected that they are to be detailed with the accuracy they are presented by historians; they will be briefly submitted with corroboratory scriptural statements and facts, which have their existence in our wide spread country, proving the far distant origin of these sons of the forest, and more especially those who may be styled the *First Jerseymen*.

And first, we may look to that people of whom it was promised to the Patriarch, that "they should be as the dust of the earth, so that if a man could number the dust of the earth they might be numbered," or in extension "as the stars of heaven,"* and we are familiar with their name throughout their history in sacred and profane writings, as a restless ever-changing people, strongly predisposed by their natural and moral constitution to fulfil the predictions of planting themselves in "far countries," "the ends of the earth," "the countries of the going down of the sun," and from whom "the ships of Tarshish were to bring them and their silver and their gold with them." These and similar prophetic sayings have encouraged the belief that on the dismemberment of the ten tribes from the kingdom of Judah, and Benjamin being a quarter of a century afterwards conquered by Salmanazar the king of Assyria, they became, as Josephust tells us, dispersed among the Parthians, Medes, Indians and Ethiopians, from whence they never returned to their ancient inheritance, but were subject to the sceptres of their barbarous princes. The Syrians, the most locomotive race mentioned in history, having subjugated the Parthian Empire about 500 years before the Christian era, communicated doubtless much of their manners and customs, while they became in like manner affected by those of the Jews, and disposed in some measure to the practice of many of their rites and ceremonies, for we hear of the Parthians especially mentioned as being present in respectable numbers at the Pentecost some 400 years after, t thus intermixed with this nation and the Scythians, and preserving in some degree their religious rites, though debased by the Calves of Jeroboam, they are led by historians under these wandering tribes. through ancient Tartary, increasing and multiplying as they journeyed, going forth in the language of Esdras "into a far country where never

^{*} Gen. xiii. 16, xv. 5. Zech. x. 9. Is. xlvi. 11. Zech. viii. 7. ls. lx. 9.

[†] Jos. antiq. Book ix. c. 19.

¹ Acts xi. 9.

mankind dwelt,"* and onward over what is now called the northeastern part of the Russian Empire, to Behring's straits, which passing over, they peopled the north-western parts of America; hence the peculiarities of this amalgamation which we will presently notice. We will not trouble our hearers with the process by which the advocates for this mode of colonization conduct them over this immense region, by supposing the rivers to have been frozen, and other tedious means of their advancement, reminding us of what the poet has said,—

And they had travelled many a day,
And many a river passed over,
And many a mountain ridge had crossed,
And many a measureless plain,
And now amid the wilds advanced;
Long is it since their eyes
Have seen the traces of other men.†

It does not matter as to the speculations whether the European and American continents were then united; this notwithstanding appears to be one avenue to the settlement of America, by people who becoming possessed of our northern country, many of them in the spirit of conquest or adventure, and invited by the genial climes of southern latitudes, have spread themselves far and wide over the land, new indeed to them, but in many portions of the Missouri, and in Central America especially, even at that period exhibiting by architectural remains, the esoteric marks of science and art, in a people who had their existence and passed away, before the period which we dignify by the name of antiquity commenced.

Another theory commences with the time of Solomon, 1,000 years

^{*} II. Esdras xiii. 41.

[†] Southey.

[‡] Humboldt's & Stephens's Travels in Central America.

^{*} We venture upon the theory that California was the Ophir of antiquity, and was discovered by the Phœnicians, the earliest of navigators, who built those cities the splendid ruins of which are spread over the American continent. This is the general impression of all travellers. Recently, reports speak of expeditions of discoveries between the mountains of the Cordilleras, where a numerous race of white people, of a warlike character and great wealth, is said to inhabit walled cities and inaccessible mountains, some of whom have proceeded further into the interior than any other travellers.

The missing tribes, in taking a north-western direction, would have crossed to the coast of America, over Behring's Straits, in eighteen months; and this numerous and warlike body, passing down the Pacific coast to Central America, came upon the cities of the Phænicians (the Canaanites) and their splendid temples, and destroyed them a second time. The descendants of those tribes are there at this day.

Genabrado, a historian of note, refers to the passage in Esdras (in his bib. 1 chron., page 150,) proving, conclusively, the passage of the tribes to this continent, tracing them

before the Advent of our Saviour, more worthy of our attention and deeper interest, connected with this subject, because better supported by scriptural facts which are ever consistent, and form the most reliable basis of historic truth. It was the opinion of Lord Monboddo that this continent was certainly known to the old world as early as the siege of Troy, which corresponds with that important era, the crowning of the son of Jesse as king of Israel. The commercial connections he formed with the Tyrians, the boldest navigators of those days, lead to the conclusion that the mines of some far distant country furnished these resources; once in three years his ships arrived.* What voyage ever in those days of nautical inexperience could have required more than three times the period it now takes to circumnavigate the globe?† When we are apprized of the fact that by the conquest of Edom the ports of the Red Sea became

to Greenland, then to Labrador, and finally to California. De Gamarra corroborates this in his "Historia" (1, fol. 7.) Father Malvenda (lib. 3 antique, cap. 18) brings the tribes to Kamschatka, near the straits now called Behring's, which was supposed then not to be a water passage, but united with the continent of America. Pliny (lib. 6, cap. 7) entertained the same opinion when those regions were under the dominion of Aniou and Quivera.—M. M. Noah's Times, 3d March, 1850.

^{*} I. Kings x. 22.—The abundant and costly materials from which that magnificent temple was erected and furnished, by Solomon, excites our admiration, and enquiry from what country this inexhaustible wealth could have been derived,—greater in amount than all the concentrated riches of Christendom, if we include the structure itself and its gorgeous decorations, estimated as equal to £900,000,000.—I Chron. xxviii. 11, 12, 15, 22, 24.

[†] David, having subdued the kingdom of Edom, became master of the two great seaports on the Red Sea, Elah and Ezionber. From thence he sent his fleets to Ophir and Tarshish, whence they brought, in their several voyages, an immense public revenue and prodigious sums of gold. When David died, his son Solomon, taking the advantage of peace, went in person to the above named ports, to superintend the building of his ships, the fortifying of the port, and arranging the plans of the voyages to Ophir. His alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, gave him the control of the Syrian seamen, the most skilful of all others, in maritime affairs, in managing a long voyage; and as the use of the compass was then unknown, they relied on coasting, or keeping as near to land as they could with safety. Hence a three months' voyage in the present day required three years in those times; and Solomon, in his trade to Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, together with his long voyages to Ophir and Tarshish, made silver in Jerusalem as plentiful as the stones in the streets-(1 Kings x. 27.) Our theory is, that the ships for Tarshish went to the southern coast of Africa from the Red Sea-to what we know as the coast of Guinea. Those bound for Ophir passed out of the Red Sea at the Straits of Babelmandel, crossed the Arabian Gulf, passed through the Straits of Sunda, coasted by the Philippine Islands, Japan and Kamschatka, through Behring's Straits into the North Pacific, and so down to the Bay of San Francisco, where all the ships took in their cargoes of gold and silver, in the ore, from the mines which the Scriptures called Ophir. The voyage was safe. There was no necessity of being out of sight of land; and, from the number of islands on the whole coast, there were ports of entry, all of which were accessible to ships of light draught of water. It this theory is correct, and California is the Ophir known to David and Solomon, and the source of

tributaries to this king and that the navigators of that period did not "Tempt too far the dangerous seas,"-

we can readily believe that a voyage through the Straits of Babelmandel across the head of the Indian Ocean, by the coast of Asia, to the Northern Pacific, coast-wise and southward by the western part of our continent, to the bay of San Francisco, and returning, would require at least that length of time, and these vessels may have obtained their heterogenous cargoes of apes and peacocks, ivory and wood, at some of the numerous islands on the passage.* †

If it is supposed that the coast of Africa from its proverbial richness was the proper destination of these ships, we may observe that the gold grains and dust of those shores are spoken of, but never the wedge of gold, a term pecularly applicable to that of Ophir alone, and denoting the immensity of its wealth. It may be further remarked with respect to the Jews who may have been left on this western coast, when the ships of Solomon and Hiram were broken at Ezionber, \(\) \| and the revolt of the ten tribes and consequent wars of the Jews, closing every avenue to commercial intercourse, had left the many thousands of that nation who had been employed there, and the traffic in gold and silver had ceased, they too, may have become amalgamated with the Asiatic tribes we have mentioned, who had gradually progressed towards a southern latitude, and formed together the original stock of the red men of our country.**

the immense wealth of Judea, then it may occur that after the surface and washings have been gleaned from the deposits of twenty-five centuries, the banks and beds beneath may exhibit veins of ore in heavy masses of incalculable richness, changing as it were the current value of the metal by its immense supply. -M. M. Noah.

^{*} A valuable work presented to our State Library by M. VATTEMARE, entitled "Georgi Horni, De Originibus Americanis, Anno 1669,"-speaking of this coast he says: "Primaæ conjecturæ fuerunt hanc esse ipssisimam Ophiram."

[†] See Smith's History of New Jersey, where he leaves it to be strongly conjectured that the communication between the most N. E. coast of Asaia and the Western part of California, being interspersed with islands, at no great distance from each other, may have afforded facilities of communication.

[†] The theory of Mr. Bradford, in his researches, is reconcileable with this conjecture, "he remarks, "that all the various tribes had the same origin, and that they came to" "America, probably, from the Indian Archipelago."

[|] II. Chron. xx. 37. I. Kings xxii. 48. § Is. xiii. 12.

The number of men who were sent, by Solomon, to Lebanon, 10,000 at a time, relieved monthly by the same number, (1 K., v. 14.) and the number engaged as "hewers in the mountains "80,000, (Ibid, v. 15,) may induce the belief that, at least, as many were engaged in the more laborious work of mining at Ophir, and in furnishing supplies for the cargoes of his ships that arrived tri-annually.

^{**} Sir George Simpson, in his tour to Siberia, has discovered a strong physical resemblance between the Siberian (a deterioration of the Mongolian race) and the North

I crave indulgeuce for thus seemingly wandering from my subject, by travelling so far in time and distance for the origin of our American Indians, to those especially of our state. It is however to these two sources, from the N. E. part of Asia and the colony under the commercial enterprize of the Jews in the time of David, Solomon, and Jehosephat, that it may be supposed our aborigines of America were chiefly derived.

Smith, in his history of New Jersey, conjectures that the communication between the most N. Eastern coast of Asia and the western part of California being interspersed with Islands at no great distance from each other, may have afforded facilties of communication, and hence concludes that the bulk of Americans are derived from the Tartars, Siberians and people of Kamschatka; indeed the frequent reference by historians to the physical formation of many of the American tribes, as resembling the Tartar race, and the strong developements of their physical and moral character has been noticed by Volney and others, and so it is said that the Tartars boast their descent from the Israelites; and that their Tamerlane traced his line from the tribe of Dan.* † This resemblance is remarked especially of the North American Indians, and when it is remembered that the nations now denominated Tartars were the ancient Scythians, and their intercourse with the ten tribes, we may expect to find some peculiarities of each nation, and a predominance of those customs that are so strongly marked as pertaining to the Jews. Hence we are informed that the custom among the North American Indians of scalping and torturing their prisoners was derived from the Scythians, whilst they were not unlike the Tartars in the treatment of the aged, without regard to the claims of kindred or affection, and also their usages in marching by what is termed Indian file; in the construction of their canoes and implements of warfare, and the chase, and their strong meta-

American Indian, which does not conflict with the position that there is a predominant trait of Jewish character in the Aborigines of America.—In their transmigration, and on their arrival they would necessarily have become amalgamated with other nations.—Sir George Simpson's Overland Journey round the World, part 2d, 98.

^{*} Rabbi Pealkieh gives an account of some Jews he found in Tartary who did not observe the traditions of the fathers—upon enquiring why they neglected them, they answered that they had never heard of them.—He complains that the Jews were greatly diminished on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the ancient cities, where they were formerly computed to have amounted to nine hundred thousand.—Mod. Un. Hist.

[†] The American inhabitants, Indians, as we call them—derived from the word Ango or Tngo, signifying, in their language, a man—are the same race of people from one end of the continent to the other, and are the same race or family as the Tartars—precisely of the same color—the same form of scull—the same species of hair—not to mention their language, and their names.—Powna'l on the Colonies, 1756, p. 157.

phors and richly abounding phraseology, denoting their Asiatic origin.* † † Again, with respect to the Jews, some of the Indian traditions, as they are represented by Du Pratz, 2 vol. 169, seemingly refer to their ten tribes, "That, of old time, their ancestors lived bebeyond a great river; that nine parts of them, out of ten of their nation, passed over the river, but the remainder refused, and staid behind; that one of them, with a number of his people, travelled a great way, for many years, until they came to the Delaware River, and settled there." Another is, that the Book the white people have, was anciently theirs, and then they prospered—that the whites obtained it, and prospered; that the Indians were left to suffer from the neighboring nations, but that the great Spirit finally took pity on them and directed them to this country; and that, on their way, they came to a great River, when God dried up the waters and they passed over dry shod. Much of curious interest, on this head, may be found in the work called "The Star in the West," by the late Doctor Boudinot, § but (as it is not so much our business to show that the Indians of America are the lost tribes, as that they are composed of the entire Jewish nation and others with whom they may have intermingled, we shall advert to other matters tending to confirm this position.

^{*}The striking resemblance of cities and plains in South America and Mexico to those "of the Tartars is ingeniously and strikingly alluded to: "Ex his patet amplam Scy." "thise gentem Tartaros fuisse, Eorum in Americam transmigrationis clara supersunt" "Vestigia, Provenciæ Mongolibus in Asia vicinæ sunt Cotan, Barda—Tongur. In Amer" ricæ in Chili Coton—In Peru Pated, Tamjora and Tumgarala—urbium Tartaircarum" "nomina Sunt Cingui—Chincui—Cangi, &c., in Peru Cigua Chincha, &c. Nota lo-" "carum Mexicanorum nomina, Hazatlan Quezatlan, Petatlan—Apud, Tincos and" "Tartaros, Merglan, Tascan, Coman, &c."—George Horne, p. 342. State Library.

The amalgamation of the Jews with Tartars is thus mentioned: "Deximus non om"nino negandum quosdam Judæos, Tartaros permixtos in Americam Venisse. Hoc"
"memorabile apud Huronis, occurrit quod illis Josephus nomen inter alia receptum.—
Ib. 348.

[†] Smith, the Historian, although he doubts the conclusion of Manassah Ben Israel, that the Israelites were the progenitors of the Americans, yet himself is of opinion "that the Americans were descended from a people not so far distant as Egypt or" Phenicia, and that no country is more likely than the N. E. part of Asia, particularly" "Tartary, Siberia, and the Peninsular of Kamschatka; and this, he says, is the pre-" vailing opinion." All this consists with the first theory we have mentioned.—See Smith's Hist. of N. Jersey, p. 9.

[†] Notwithstanding the Tartar physiogonomy of our Indians, they are in part but a mixed relation descended from the Jews; or, in other words, a part of the lost tribes of Israel, and, in reality, imitate the worship of the ancient Israelites, having taught the same to the Tartars after they left Syria in mass, as is related by 2 Esdras, chap. xiii, 7-47.—Amer. Antiq., 291.

[§] Or, as it is entitled, "A Humble Attempt to discover the long lost Tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city Jerusalem;" a work replete with much interesting matter respecting the Indians of North America.

One of the earliest religious rites among the Jews, and which particularly characterized them was that of circumcision; and we are informed, that the Indians to the Eastward say, that previous to the white people coming into the country, their ancestors were in the habit of using this rite, but that laterally, not being able to assign any reason for the practice it was abolished, and our author is himself a witness of its general use among the Dog Ribbed Indians, far to the North West.*†

There are other traditions shewing a confused knowledge of Primitive History, (which it is our privilege so authentically to possess,) such as obtained among the Indians on the Ohio, with respect to a flood wherein a few only made a canoe and were saved in it—that of the Hurons and Iriquois by Charlevoix; that the first woman came from heaven; had twins; and that the elder killed the younger.

It is a remarkable fact that nowhere among the Indians of North America has idolatry been found to prevail, while many of their modes of worship as well as customs strongly resemble those of the Mosaic institutions and observances. Their division into bands, with chiefs and symbols—their high priests and prophets—their sanctums—their separation of the men and women in worship—the respect and reverence shewn by them to the aged§—the

^{*} McKenzie's History, pages 34 to 113.

[†] If it is asserted that this rite was in practice among the Egyptians, Ethiopians and Edomites, it may nevertheless have been of Hebrew origin, before Abraham or his posterity were acquainted with the Egyptians, and doubtless introduced by the Jews among the people of that nation, and by the dispersion of the Jews was introduced among other nations.—See Amer. Antiq. 74.

t 2 Catlin 232.

Reverence for age is a peculiar trait of Indian character. I have been informed by Mr. Copway, a Chippeway Chief, that during the winter season, the boys of his tribe would frequently listen for the greater part of the night, to the traditionary stories told by some aged Indian, who had been engaged by them for that purrose, with not less if not more ceremony, than would be observed in the most polite circles of society. Six, or eight boys would deputize two of their number to wait upon the old man with a present, and request him to relate at an appointed time some Indian stories and traditions, giving him on such occasions the title of Grandfather; if he complied, he would signify the time, and at the appointed hour, the party after painting and arraying themselves in their finest costume, would enter singly his hut, the first and youngest passing around the old man, and taking his seat in the remote section of a circle, the next using the same ceremony, but sitting nearer to him, until the last, who placed himself by the side of the narrator; this punctilio was universally observed towards an old person whatever his rank might be, as it was with the Jews, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man and fear God; for I am the Lord your God. Lev. XIX, 32.

[&]quot;On public occasions, the King sits in the middle of a half moon and hath his council; the old and the wise on each hand, and behind them at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure."—Wm. Penn.

purchase of their wives by means of presents—their forms and cereceremonies of marriage—their fasts in preparation for battle and in making peace—their baths and ablutions at all seasons of the year their counting by moons-their mourning a year for the dead, and their proverbial veneration for the burial places of their ancestrytheir traditions; -all these, as we gather them from various sources, are evidences of Jewish origin; besides their many sacrificial observances-the consecration of seed to be sown, and the celebration of harvests, which tho' strangely associated with Heathen-grotesque ceremonies may be the consequences only of an idolatrous connexion, obvious even in the days of Ezra, when the Jews that had been carried away, came up again to Jerusalem, "they could not shew their father's house and their seed whether they were of Israel"* we may instance likewise the account given by William Penn, of the New Jersey tribes, -their solemn feasts on the ratification of treaties, -their sacrifices on twelve stones, of the first fruit and fattest buck, to which he adds the appearance of a Delaware, as "not unlike a strait looked Jew," † and their lofty, bold and expressive language, which is said in these respects to resemble the Hebrew. If these are not conclusive on this point, we can only say that they are singular coincidences. The fact, that magnificent ruins in Central America, indicate the existence of a nation in past times, combined with the profoundest knowledge of art and science, and that the mysterious characters engraven upon their architectural remains will not admit of solution by any approach whilst those of Nineveh .- Babylon, and the Nile have yielded to the penetrating researches of Layard, Champollion, Belzoni, Gliddon and others, is sufficient to satisfy us that these are the monuments of a people planted there long before the seed of Israel was sown. The same traces of population long anterior to the present race of Indians are discoverable in the forts and tumuli,—the mounds and pyramids in the West, the pyramidal being the most primitive style of architecture, §

^{*} Ezra, ii, 59.

[†] Thomas's West Jersey, p. 2. Blome's Present State, 96.

[†] A writer, (Adair) who has had the best opportunities to know the true idiom of their language by a residence among them for forty years, has taken great pains to show the similarity of the Hebrew, with the Indian languages, both in their roots and general construction; and insists that many of the Indian words, to this day, are purely Hebrew, notwithstanding their exposure to the loss of it to such a degree, as to make the preservation of it so far, as little less than miraculous.—Star in the West, p. 96.

The learned M. Rasenesque is however of a different opinion, believing that the radical American languages and dialects have far more analogy with most of the primitive languages of mankind.—See Am. Antiq.

See Long's Address, N. Y. Hist. Soc. 1849.

and those denominated Stonehenge, which are of the earliest class of antiquities, (the Druidical,) and belonging to the first era of settlements in Europe. To speak of these would be foreign to our subject, only so far as to shew that the present race of Indians, are of another and a later age.* †

* After reading this paper, a member enquired if the author had come to any conclusion as to the character and derivation of the people who once inhabited this region of our country, and the time of its occupation; the reply was, that there had been no satis, factory knowledge obtained, for the various inscriptions and characters gathered by travellers, but that architectural remains, may point to that period of the world when they were erected, and oftimes, to the natural features of the people. For example;—the first form of building was the pyramid in its simplest style, in after times the terraced pyramid, and then the temple pyramid &c. The period of 1500 years has been assigned as the interval from the great pyramids of Gizeh to the building of the Theban temples, where the prevalence of the pyramidal outline marks a yet imperfect style, and 1500 more, from these latter to the columnal structures of Elephanta and Philæ, where architectural developements assumed a purely cubicular arrangement.

From the forms of architectural remains, we get at that "HOW which history is racked to confess, that consecutiveness which is dimly descried in documents, in architecture is apparent: that human progress, in which all believe, but which so few show forth distinctly, is beautifully narrated by the monumental series." While Egypt builds pyramids, other nations of the globe are not shaping domes, while Greece erects the columns around her shrines, her cotemporaries are no where building spires; give but a link in the succession of a chain of architectural forms and the archæologist can assign its place in the whole series with the same exactness as the geologist determines the chronological era of fossil by its peculiar stratum."—R. Cary Long, A. M. on Ancient Ar-

chitecture of America. Disc. before N. Y. Hist. Soc. 1849.

† The theory that our continent was first peopled from Southern Asia by means of land then occupying the whole or part of the Pacific Ocean, of which its islands only remain, is said to account for the existence of the variety of animals in South America which arrived there after the Deluge,-this is a speculation which assumes as a fact, what is disputed by many learned men, by Vossius, by Bedford, in his" Scripture Chronology," and by Dr. John Pye Smith who is distinguished for his knowledge of theology, biblical philology, and geology, and as one of his positions to reconcile geology and revelation has considered that the Noachian deluge was limited to that part of the world occupied by the human race, and that therefore we ought not to expect any traces of it on the globe, can now be distinguished from those of previous and analagous deluges, - see Huchcock's Geology, p. 271-2. We therefore reasonably presume that the portion of the world only was submerged which was "terra veteribus nota," a supposition quite as plausible to reconcile the existence of these animals in America, as that the immense space now occupied by the Pacific or the greater portion of it, should have been dry land. Would it not appear as reasonable that these animals should have migrated as Hornius and De Laet believe, by the way of Behring's Straits, which are said to contain many islands, none of them more than seven miles apart, and the soundings not over twenty feet, or by means of that continuous chain of islands in the Aleutian Archipelago, extending from Kamschatka to our coast about the 52 deg. of latitude. See Greives's history of Kamschatka, -Sir Geo. Simpson's Overland Journey, 2, p. 97, -Mitchell's Map of the World.

The work of G. Hornius has the following remarks confirmatory of the migration of animals to the continent, "Terrestres feræ ex una in aliam continentam vel exiguis fretis natatu superatis vel per glaciem venerunt. Quod Acosta ingeniose deprehendit. Quia

From the best authorities we have, the Red men of America, those of the stock we have referred to, extending from seventy deg. on the north side, to fifty-four deg. on the south side of the equator, bear a striking resemblance in feature, (as well as in the peculiarities to which we have already alluded,) and notwithstanding their great diversity of language, general agreement existing among themselves, it is said, is more remarkable than their disagreement from other races.* The Indians of New Spain, says Humboldt, bear a close resemblance to those who inhabit Canada, Florida, Pensylvania, and Brazil, and even the wide difference in stature that exists between the Esquimaux of the north, and the Patagonians of the south, would not seem from his account to vary this constitutional agreement.

Confining this similarity to the nation to which we would trace more immediately the line of the first occupiers of Jersey soil, we are told by Dr. Dwight, who is supported by other writers, that the inhabitants of New England, were all of one nation, excepting those of the eastern part of Maine,-all spoke one language, with different dialects only, and the same language was spoken by all the tribes between the Potomac and the St. Lawrence,-the Mississippi and the Ocean,-the only exception being the Iroquois, or six nations, originally five, composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondaguas, Cayaguas, and Senecas, the Tuscarora's who were drawn from the frontiers of Virginia, in 1712, being received into the confederacy upon the supposition that their language being similar, they were of the same stock. This nation, the Iraquois, as they were the most powerful, so are they remarkable for the extent of their conquests, and the wisdom of the policy they invariably observed in their Government; their confederacy nearly resembling the first bond of union adopted by the people of the United States at the Revolution, there would appear to have been in this Western Continent, an atmosphere which kindled a flame of civil liberty, as well in the breast of the untaught man, as of the accomplished European, after planting his foot on our shores at a subsequent period; -A union which had its effect, to give higher military consequence to these tribes, than they could ever severally have possessed, and which elevated their national character as a people, formidable in war and respected in peace. To this combined influence may be at-

cum continens America leonibus, ursis, ligribus, cervis and aliis quadrupedibus abundet; nulla ejus generis deprehensa fuerunt in illis insulis quæ longius a continente absunt, quales Hispaniola, Cuba & reliquæ. Ex quo patet alicubi angustum fretium Americam nostro orbe abscindere, quod tranari vel congelari."—G. Horni, p. 40.

^{*} Catlin's North American Indians, 226, 231.

tributed their uninterrupted chain of victories, from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Mississipi.* Although there is an influence which has never yet been cleared away with respect to their influence over, or, connection with the Delaware tribe, which, while it has retained its power in a certain degree, it never has exposed the latter to the ignominy of being called a conquered tribe, and without any feature of Spartan Helotism, Saxon villeinage, or Russian Serfdom, has retained their services with all the apparent subjection of a race reduced by conquest, and yet manifesting the noblest traits of character, with indomitable courage: their alliance was ever courted by both nations in the early and Revolutionary wars. They occupy the same position in our minds, as the Anglo-Saxons did, in the estimate which Matthew Hale forms of their conflict with the Normans, and wherein he labors in many ways to satisfy us that they never were conquered, and chiefly because they still retained their own laws and customs, a privilege the Delawares ever continued to exercise.†

The first Europeans distinguished the aborigines of N. America, into three great divisions. The Algonquins, (which included the Delawares,) the Iroquois, and the Mobilians. The Delawares according to their traditions, many hundred years ago, inhabited a far distant part of our western regions, and according to Heckwelder, having heard of a fine country to the east of the Mississipsi, they resolved to emigrate, and arrived on the banks of that river, and there met the Menque, or Iroquois, who had likewise emigrated from an interior distant country, and being opposed by the resident tribe, or nation, the Alligeivi, the new adventurers gave battle, and compelled them to fly, when pursuing their route down the river they never returned, becoming doubtless what are termed the Mobilian tribe; the victors divided the country between them,-the Iroquois taking the territories about the Lakes,-the Delawares of the Countries to the south, and tradition says that they lived peaceably for 200 years, until some of them ventured in the spirit of enterprize, eastward to the great salt water lake, (the Atlantic,) and believing that the Great Spirit had made this country for them, finally, at several periods, settled on the four great rivers, Delaware, -- Susquehana, -- Hudson, and Potomac, making their chief place of council on the Delaware, and thus the Delawares became divided into three great bodies, those on the east, and those on the west

^{*} Schoolcraft's history of the Iroquois.

[†] Matt. Hale's history of Com. Law.

[†] Hist. and Lit. Trans. of Am. Phil. Soc. 1813.

side of the Mississippi, and those on the Atlantic;—and dropping their first, baptismal name, Lenni Lenappes,* and assuming that of their new settlement, they became designated as the Minsi Delawares, inhabiting that part of N. Jersey, north of the Raritan, extending into Pennsylvania; and Delawares proper, the southern part, and the valley of the Schuylkill.†

The Iroquois, or six nations, (the most enlightened of the Indian nations,) by reason of their league and their knowledge of those simple arts, which were of the greatest use to the Indians, and their disposition to be more settled and fixed in their habits, had become so powerful and dreaded by their neighbors, that in process of time they entirely subjugated or destroyed most of the Indian nations around them, including the Hurons and others classed under the generic term of Algonquins, (of which the Delawares were part,) extending through the eastern portions of N. America, and about the year 1650, fearing that a continuance of the war would lead to their total extirpation. and knowing the uncontrolled spirit of the Delawares in a state of war and yet kind and pacific to a proverb in time of peace, we are toldt that they sent to the Delawares a message, couched in terms of amity, and submitting a proposition that one of them should act "the woman," for as we are informed, \$\xi\$ the matrons acted in a conservative character, being entrusted with the power to propose a cessation of arms, or in other words to act as peacemakers, which the Indian himself never would do with arms in his hands, a feature of their policy existing to this day, as it did centuries ago.

Appealing in this message to all that was humanely due to themselves, their wives and children, and manifesting every disposition to live in harmony with them,—not perceiving the subtle intentions of the treacherous Iroquois,—at an appointed feast and with appropriate ceremonies of delivering wampum, (the seal of an Indian covenant,) the Delawares entered into and ratified this treaty, and thereafter a term allied to that of "cousin," has since been appropriated by the Iroquois, and doubtless received with much of that feeling in many a Delaware breast, as excited the memorable imprecation from the lips

^{*} Lenni Lenappes, from the Mississipi, the Father of Western Rivers.

[†] The Minsi who inhabited the west banks of the Hudson below Tappan extending over all the east half of New Jersey to the Falls of the Raritan where they joined their kindred the Lenni Lenappe, or Delawares proper, called by Hudson the Mohican-ittuck, i.e. the river of the Mohicans.—Schoolcraft.

t Loskiel Hist. Morav. Missions 124.

Schoolcraft's Hist. Indians. 135.

of the testy Hotspur on his cousin Bolingbroke.* Nevertheless the Delaware has ever since been entrusted with the charge of the belt of peace, and chain of friendship, altho' it is said the Iroquois has not inviolably regarded the treaty. Such is the statement given by the Delawares themselves, of a transaction, which, while it rendered them powerless towards the Iroquois, yielded to them the full possession and enjoyment of their rights and usages as respected other nations.

The earliest accounts of the Delawares of New Jersey, are given by William Penn, and by Gabriel Thomas,† by whom they are represented as of fine personal appearance and of an erect and lofty mien, -these remarks applied to the Delawares proper. The Minsi tribe extended as far on the west banks of the Hudson, as Tappan, and from these two have sprung other tribes, with assumed names, all acknowledging the Delawares as their pro avi, or grandfathers, thus we find these petty bands that separated either from interest, necessity, or caprice, derived their names from the rivers or districts where they settled such as the Hackensack, Pashawack, the Raritan, and the Neversink. these subdivisions became more frequent after the early settlement of our State by the English, and Dutch, and Swedes, and the introduction of what may lamentably be called the evils, or vices of civilization, their consequent feuds and distractions causing them to seek new homes and new dependencies, and reduced them to the humble and ignominious state, which became unjustly their rebuke among those who were their "spoilers and destroyers." In the year 1781, § there were still some very aged Indians living on the banks of the Muskingum, who were present when the first houses were built in the village of Philadelphia, they related that the whites treated them with kindness, so that they appeared but as one nation, but when the Europeans began to settle along the navigable rivers, and extended their agriculture and commerce over a great part of the country, the deer retired into the woodland, and the Indians followed them, and their retreat appears to have been within the State of New Jersey,-about Trenton, New Brunswick, -and Amboy on the Raritan.

There were some peculiarities of the Jersey Indians mentioned by Campanius, a Swede, who describes the women as rather handsome, with round faces, fine busts, and strait bodies, modest and retiring, and suffering their hair to grow to its full length, and generally to hang

^{* 1}st. Part Henry IV. Act 1. Scene 3.

[†] Hist. Pennsylvania.

t Passaic.

Meskell 124.

loosely down their backs, the men only leaving enough to serve as a handle to their scalping enemies.

Another historian tells us of the custom among the men, of plucking the hair from their chins, holding a beard to be a great deformity,* that the custom of tatooing was unknown to the Delawares, tho' they stained their faces, arms and bodies with various colors, denoting the different passions.—In fine their habits were of that simple kind, as are uniformly those of men in a barbarous state, and dependent on primitive implements of Agriculture, and the chase, for their subsistence and clothing.†

Their general character is thus forcibly described, "bravery, generosity, firmness, and an indomitable love for liberty were virtues which the tribes on the Delaware shared with their whole race, but in shrewdness, integrity, depth of love, and susceptibility to the finer feelings of human nature, they were far superior to their brethren". So proud indeed was the Delaware of his liberty, that altho' a chief was empowered and obliged to keep good order in his tribe, and to decide all quarrels and dispntes, yet he dared not venture to command, compel, or punish any one, as in that case he would have been immediately forsaken by the whole tribe.—It might be said of them, as Justin did of the Scythians:

"Justitia gentis, Ingeniis, non legibus."

"Justice is practiced among them rather from a natural principle, than in obedience to Laws." This character is confirmed by the account given of them by Hudson on his arrival at York Island, in marked contrast to those on the eastern shore of the Hudson River.

With respect to their government, if any semblance to modern estabishments could be recognized, it has been made by some authors of a republican character, and in some respects not dissimilar to that of the Iroquois, from whom it may have been borrowed, and consists with the account given by Penn, that their government in its lower grades was of the Patriarchal character, the nation being divided into tribes, and each tribe into families, and each village sending their deputies to a general council.§ The domestic economy being subject to the Pat-

^{*} A barbarous custom which stands rebuked by the classical taste of our modern Savans.

⁺ Much of an interesting nature in these particulars may be obtained from the reminiscences of Gloucester, by Isaac Mickle Esq., where in a single chapter the sources of his information have been studiously noted, and constitutes a valuable record of the customs of our Jersey aborigines.

[†] Mickle's Rem. of Glo. Co.

[§] M. S. S. Phil. Lib.

riarch. The Sachem exercised a still higher, and more extensive jurisdiction, embracing their families collectively in the settlement of their difficulties, leading forth their armies to battle, and directing the business of their councils, the office being hereditary, and succeeding

by the maternal line, according to the Salic Law.*

The Religion of the Delawares had not much of what may be considered a Polemic character, it consisted in a belief of the existence of a supreme being, but there was in it not a little of Manicheism, propitiating a good, (by their sacrifices,) and deprecating an evil spirit, which they imagined to exist only for harm in this world,—their heaven consisting of an embodiment of all those choicest pleasures in this world which the good were to enjoy, and the bad would only be permitted to look upon at a distance.†

" Simple nature to his hope had given

- "Behind the cloud-topt hill, a humbler heaven, "Some safer world in depth of woods embraced,
- " Some happier island in the watery waste,

" To be content's his natural desire,

"He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire,

"But thinks admitted to yon equal sky,

"His faithful dog shall bear him company.";

Their sacrifices by fire as before mentioned, being made upon 12 stones were accompanied with saltatory ceremonies, songs, and shout-

ings, reminding us of many in use among the Jews.

As to their susceptibility of religious impressions, whatever may have been said of the imperfect services of the English, Moravian and German Missionaries in these early days, and at the middle of the nineteenth century, among the Delawares, there have been many instances of marked and devoted piety, but we are induced to make just allowance for early and native prejudice, and above all the withering example of so called christian men, which became a criterion for the Indian's conduct. Alas! while he was taught the divine precepts of temperance, sobriety, justice and mercy, he was ever beholding and sensibly enduring the effects of vices opposed to these as stumbling blocks to his faith, and our ancient statute books for the year 1675 for more than a century contain evidence of this lamentable fact, in the various provisions against the sale of liquors, deceits in trading, and for the humane treatment of the natives.

^{*} Companius p. 133.

⁺ Schoolcraft, p. 103.

Popes Ess. on Crit.

The self-denying Brainerd who labored in this State in 1756, has left his testimony of their capacity for moral instruction, and he had to regret that his labors proved more ünsuccessful from the continued opposition and libertinism of his own countrymen, than from any resistance or insensibility on the part of the Indians.* More than half a century before his ministrations, the old Sachem Okanikon had distinguished himself at Burlington for his kindness to the English, and his philanthropic endeavours to stop, in that early day, the vices of his nation both by religious precept and example†; and in later days, a more remarkable man of New Jersey, in the person of "White Eyes" the first Indian captain in the Regular service of the United States, who dared not only himself to be a devoted christian, but the consistent friend of the missionary, openly and at all times advocating the cause among his brethren, and departing a bright example of the religion he professed.‡

Their language was highly calculated for the finest efforts of elocucution, being, according to the description of it we have from various sources, bold and lofty, yet comprehensive and euphonious, and if we may credit the ear and taste of William Penn, "no tongue spoken in Europe could surpass it in melody, grandeur of accent, and em-

phasis.§

Such was the government, character, religion, and manners of the Delawares of New Jersey, in 1613, shortly after the Dutch first occupied that part of our state upon which is built Jersey city, and in 1617 when they built their cottages in the vicinage of the Esopus Indians at Bergen; it was not until 1629 that any considerable purchases of soil were made. In that year the Great West India Company formed in Holland, with a view to colonize this country, granted certain charters for large tracts of land, and as it is said, with extensive seignorial rights. One of three ships sent over here for this purpose arrived in

† His parting words to his tribe contain much of christian precept, suffering no doubt

in their true sense by the translation into our language,-

^{*} Memoir of Brainerd, by Edwards, p. 361.

[&]quot;Now having delivered my heart into your bosom, I also deliver my bosom to keep my heart in; be sure and always walk in a good path and if any Indian should speak evil of Indian or Christian, do not join in it, but look at the sun from the rising of it to the setting of it—but join with the good only when speeches are made, be silent, and let all speak before you, and take good notice what each man speaks, and when you have heard all, join to that which is good, be plain and fair with both Indians and Christians.

—Smith's Hist. of New Jersey, p. 149.

[†] Wilson's Am. Hist. p. 29.

[&]amp; Lettter Wm. Penns 1683.

^{||} Gordon's Hist. New Jersey.

Delaware Bay, and there purchased for three individual directors, from the Indians, a tract, sixteen miles square, on the peninsula of Cape May, and a large plat in the neighbourhood of Hoboken, including Powles Hook. These appear to have been the first purchases of the Indians, although some settlements had been made a few years previous, and Fort Nassau built upon what is now called Timber Creek in Gloucester County.*

The Minnisotti settlements above the Blue Mountains, extending forty miles on both sides of the river, were made about that period by a company of miners from New Holland. The success of the Dutch excited the Swedes in 1638 to form similar associations, and in that year a ship and transport arrived in the Delaware River, and in 1640 purchased all the lands from Cape May to what is now called Racoon Creek, with a design of expelling by the aid of the Dutch, the English who had made settlements there; during this time the New Jersey Indians, with those of Long Island, began to show symptoms of hostility to the Dutch, who had taken great advantage of their ignorance and confidence, and exercised unreasonable severity over them; Kieft the Governor of Manhattan in 1638 made himself distinguished for cruelty to the Indians, who exasperated by such oppressive conduct, provoked by dishonest tradings, and maddened by rum, attacked the settlements on Staten Island. An expedition was immediately raised against the New Jersey Indians, (Staten Island being then considered a part of our State) which was however partially terminated by the mediation of the Iroquois, and no doubt afforded the opportunity which in 1657 was embraced by the Dutch of purchasing the whole of that Island, at the very moderate consideration of 10 shirts, 30 pair stockings, 10 guns, 30 lbs of powder, 12 coats, 30 kettles, 50 hatchets, 25 hoes, and 400 fathoms of wampum. We are thus particular in order to shew a cause among others of a similar kind, of that hostility which quite a century afterwards was manifested against the whites. It is unnecessary and foreign to our purpose to follow up the controversies between the Dutch and Swedes with the English, respecting territorial right and the overthrow of the Dutch dominion and title by the English, under their right of prior discovery.†

The establishment of the right of Berkeley and Carteret in New Jersey, by grant from the Duke of York produced a new state of affairs and other difficulties as to Indian Titles. I

^{*} Letter Wm. Penn, 1683.

[†] See the Great Bill in Chancery for a complete history of the difference between the Dutch and English, and the establishment of the right of the English. t Upon the Duke of York granting the two Jersey's to Lords Berkely and Carteret,

The first instance of a conveyance by the Indians with technical formality was in 1661 to certain settlers, of all the property included by the Raritan River, the Arthur Kull's Sound and Passaic River, and extending westward twice its breadth, covering 400,000 acres, all of which was sold for about 40 yards of trading cloth, and a few articles which even in those days among civilized people would not have been considered of greater value than a year's lease of an ordinary tenement.* A petition had been presented to Governor Nicolls for liberty to purchase these lands of the Indians, which was granted by him with some design, or without a knowledge of the grant to Berkeley and Carteret made about the same time, and it was the validity of this deed by virtue of his license that was many years after involved in what is called the great Bill in Chancery, and which constitutes so important a part of the chain of Jersey History.

About the year 1665, after Philip Carteret had established himself at Elizabethtown, a company of settlers from Connecticut, thirteen in number, at his invitation having agreed to locate at Newark, were opposed in landing by the Hackensack tribe, until they had satisfied their demands, notwithstanding a previous sale by the Indians of these same lands the year before to Berkely, and they accordingly paid them £130, 12 blankets and as many guns, for the entire tract comprehending Springfield, Livingston, Caldwell, Orange, and Bloomfield townships; this may be considered the first sale under an Indian purchase, by those who in the language of Bancroft, "have given to the rising Commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced," there seems to be some difference of opinion between historians and those who have compiled our judicial records, as to the fact of a previous purchase, whereby it appears that the settlers were about returning by their boats when Carteret acknowledged there had been no such previous purchase, but recommended them to pay as has been stated, and subsequently compensated them for such advances.

That improper advantages had been taken of the Indians ignorance,

Nicholls then Governor of New Jersey for that Duke, apprehending he would be superseded in his government, took advantage of the instructions of his patent, and gave leave to certain persons to purchase lands from the Indians, subject to certain quit rents, and the like was done by Carteret the first Governor, under the assignees, such purchases being expressly against the Duke of York's grant, and yet good in law, created inexpressible disturbances and confusion in the Government; but the Indian purchasers seem to have had the better in the dispute.—Wynne's Hist. Brit. Europe in Am. p. 211.

^{*} Gordon's Hist of New Jersey.

[†] See Historical Collections, N. J.

and that they had been in many instances not treated with kindness or humanity, is very evident from the instructions of George Carteret to his brother, in 1674. "They were to be treated with all humanity and kindness, and not in any degree to be aggrieved or oppressed," and so it would appear that after Carteret's arrival, he thought it prudent to purchase the right to such lands as the owners by the concessions were entitled, which he says "proved a very excellent policy making of the Indians from a shy and jealous people, very serviceable and good neighbours," a test indeed, quite as efficacious when applied to a more cultivated class of men. By the same commission, directions were given to purchase land as there should be occasion, and every individual person was to reimburse the proprietors at the same rates as it should be acquired from the Indians.

In consequence of the many independent treaties for land which still conflicted with the interest of the proprietors, an Act of Assembly of East New Jersey was passed in 1682, regulating their treaties and requiring that no persons should enter into any treaty and agreement with the Indians for any tract of land, before having a warrant signed by the Governor, and that all contracts and deeds should be in the name of the proprietors.* The proceedings of the proprietors would seem to indicate that they disclaimed any intention to invalidate the Indian's title, merely assuming the privilege of purchasing or giving authority to purchase in their name; they claimed at this time seignorial power by virtue of their grant from the Duke of York and n) w in 1702 being resolved to surrender this power to the crown, and believing that the sales to the Dutch were void because they had been only tenants at will to the English by license from King James and had received no proper conveyance or legal possession from the Indians;† the proprietors as part of the conditions of this surrender, required confirmation of their then existing right to purchase land of the natives, and accordingly an Act of Assembly was passed which after premising that several ill disposed persons had formerly entered into treaties with the Indians, and had taken conveyances with no title from the crown, it declared, "That no person should take a gift or purchase in fee from the Indians without first obtaining a certificate under the hands of the Recorder of the proprietors."

The title of the proprietors, nevertheless, had been disputed by many, who held under, or derived their right from independent Indian

^{*} Act 1 March, 1682, Regulating Treaties with the Indians.

[†] See Gordon's Hist. New Jersey and the G. Bill in Chancery.

[‡] Act 10 November, 1703.

grants of land previous to the passing of this Act, and occasioned frequent riots and disturbances in Newark, Middletown, Shrewsbury and other places, when the payment of quit rents to the proprietors were resisted.*

In all these controversies there was one party whose rights were most effected, whose voice was feebly heard at intervals but was lost in the overpowering wrangle which the ingenuity of man by means of legal sophistry had interposed. It was the Indian himself. He was ever referred to as the source of right in each claimant and legislative expression had vested that right in those who had been authorized to pay for and receive a title from the Indian. There is a semblance of justice in the whole process and machinery of occupation and settlement by means of discovery, grants, concessions, instructions and enactments which appears tenderly to recognize the Red Man's privileges and yet in all the treaties and negociations with him the burthen of his complaint was that he had been deceived.

It is true a nominal consideration had been paid for his property, but the transfer once made he became au unfit occupant of his remaining possessions.

A mystic word had wrought this charm, -Seignorial Right, -de. rived from what? Discovery? Conquest? Voluntary surrender? They have each been asserted, but the nearest approach we can make to any foundation for a title not derived from the aborigines, is to be obtained from what may have been said in the course of judicial settlement of property claims in this country. That the English posessions in America were not claimed by right of conquest but by right of discovery, that according to the principles of international law, as then understood, the Indian tribes in the new world were regarded as mere temporary occupants of the soil, and the absolute right of property and dominion were held to belong to the European nation by whom any particular part of the country was discovered, and that whatever forbearance may have been practised towards these unfortunate aborigines, either from humanity or policy, yet the territory they occupied was disposed of by the Governments of Europe, at their pleasure as if it had been found without inhabitants; and upon these principles rest the various charters and grants of territory, made on the whole continent,*—the poor Indian then, was no party to any Act which took from him the inestimable right of governing himself, and vet they were men exercising a rational form of government. They

^{*} See Gordon's Hist. N. J.

^{† 16} Peters U. S. Rep. Waddell v. Martin.

were recognized by the Dutch and by the English, as competent to make a contract for lands with all due solemnity. The proprietors as we have seen, required of the crown a confirmation of their right to purchase lands of the Indians. Why then all this legal parade if discovery only, gave the right! Here was a deception which the sagacity of nature's child could read in the sun-light of after experience when he discovered that he had exchanged his soil for a bauble, and found himself to have become the victim of this Scignorial Right,-His hunter's grounds, (he was assured,) were free wherever uninclosed, but as pious Herbert has it,

" Where God had made all common,

" Man became the incloser."*

The term "ideal boundary" had never entered into his conception of an aboriginal close, and this same seignorial right, or sovereign power, created such stringent laws as deprived him of what (to the Indian) was the sole enjoyment of his domain, and from which after he was excluded, he perceived though too late, that when he signed the treaty for his land he had signed a warrant for his own expatriation. With better foresight of its consequences, he would have acted out the part of the intrepid Seminola Osceola, who when required to affix his mark to a treaty for his nation's territory, with the spirit of a Charlemagne, indignantly dashed his knife through the instrument, and the table on which it was spread, exclaiming "there is my mark." The Indian has always remembered, and ever expressed a keen sense of his wrongs, and insisted on his claim for redress.t

Under such circumstances, with a peaceful disposition, the Delawares in 1740 in large numbers went westward of the Alleghany on the Muskingum River, and for more than fifty years, the great body of the nation remaining in N. Jersey, continued faithful, notwithstanding their injuries and neglect, when cupidity and interest did not ensure them favor. But upon the Northern Expedition of 1755, when a regiment was raised in New Jersey, the Delawares remaining, were induced by the French under representations made to them that they would recover the lands wrongfully witheld, to take part with that nation, and

^{*} Herbert's Church Porch.

[†] The parallel is a remarkable one: it is said of Charlemagne tho' devoted to the encouragement of letters, that on executing a celebrated instrument, he made his mark from inability to write, but that his firmness and decision of character are well attested by the words engraved at the conclusion of every instrument, "I have signed it with the pommel of my sword, and promise to mantain it with the point .- Rees' Ency. Tit. Char.

[†] Trans. Am. Antiq. Society, vol. 2, p. 49.

Smith's Hist. p. 446.

from this period until after the reduction of the French, a series of hostilities were perpetrated by the Indians, during which on their approach to our frontiers, the New Jersey Militia were kept in continual requisition.* The atrocities which were said to have been committed, were mostly without our confines, and if time and the occasion permitted, we might speak of thrilling scenes in a neighbouring state, and on our borders, which have so often employed the pen of the historian and the poet, and exercised the painter's skill,—the war was not carried into our State, but its inhabitants were kept in a continued state of alarm, and several murders were committed by the Indians in the interior. The Legislature of New Jersey upon a serious consideration of this state of affairs, in 1757, appointed commissioners to examine into the treatment of the Indians, and we may observe how sensibly the Colonial Legislature at the time, believed that thesc hostilities were to be attributed to the Indians' recollection of past injuries when in the Act appointing Commissioners it is premised "that the strict observance of the Agreements with the Indians will greatly tend to increase their confidence in the English Government, and a neglect thereof would destroy the same," +-- a tribute to that discrimination and love of liberty which distinguished the people of another century, when the first note of freedom was struck at Lexington, and has since so often echoed through the world from beyond the precincts of the seas, and shall continue to reverberate until all the nations of the earth shall shout the general chorus of universal liberty.

There were several conferences with the Indians, and the reconcilement of the Delawares to the Colonists was chiefly effected by the friendly offices of Teedyscung one of their chiefs, who acted a prominent part as a brave man, wise counsellor, and eloquent orator among them; born in 1705 in the town of Trenton,* (where we are convened,) his prejudices and feelings were naturally with the tribes of New Jersey, while his strong physical powers and proud demeanor, commanded universal respect, and the settled jealousy of their ancient enemy, the Iroquois; the conference first held at Burlington agreed upon another at Easton in 1758, and it was here that he acted as the principal speaker, and in touching and eloquent terms, dwelt upon the arbritary and unjust conduct of the English

^{*} Gordon's Hist of New Jersey.

[†] Smith's History New Jersey, p. 446.

¹ Ibid, chap. xxiii.

[&]amp; Little Worth as then called.

towards his nation, through a period of more than a hundred years:—"Many are the reasons (said he) why the Indians have ceased to be the friends of the whites, they have never been satisfied with their conduct after the treaty of 1737, when their fathers sold them their lands on the Delaware, and he recounts the various deceits that had been practised upon them, such as selling by the points of the compass, which were unintelligible to the Indians, and other frauds of a similar nature;* and yet with the conciliatory spirit of a Delaware when at peace, he was anxious to effect a permanent settlement of his brethren in Pennsylvania and in New Jersey: he was worthy of a better fate than that which befel him within eight years after, because of the prominent part he had taken in this conference, his doom was fixed, and the treacherous, revengeful Iroquois, who shrinked from before him single-handed, fired at night his own and the huts of his family and followers, when they all perished in the flames.†

It was at this convention, 1758, that the remnant of the Delaware tribe south of the Raritan River, agreed to specify the land they claimed, and to treat with the commissioners on the part of the State for a release of their whole claim. An Act was accordingly passed setting forth the inclination of the Legislature, to settle and establish a good understanding and agreement with the Indians and appropriating £1,600 to the purchase of Indian claims in the colony, and provides for a purchase for the Indians by Commissioners, of lands south of the Raritan River, where they might settle and raise their necessary subsistence, "in order that they might be gratified and have a lasting monument of the justice and tenderness of the colony towards them." It goes on to direct the purchase of a convenient tract of land for their settlement, not permitting the Indians to sell, or lease, and exempting the lands from taxes.

In pursuance of this statute the Commissioners obtained the Indian releases of their claims to lands in the colony, and purchased 3000 acres in the town of Evesham, Burlington County, called Edge Pillock, where they built a town called Brotherton, from whence they derive their name. In the same year, 1758, at the council at Easton £1000 was also appropriated to the Minnisinks and Wapings for all

^{*} Miner's Wyoming, p. 47.

[†] Ibid, p. 53.

t Smith's Hist. N. J.

[§] Act of N. J. Aug. 12, 1758.

^{||} Three Lotteries were authorized to pay the expense of this purchase.—Allinson's Laws of N. J. 12th August, 1758.

their claims to lands, from the lines between New York and New Jersey, to Hudson River, and from the mouth of the Raritan River to the Pasquilin Mountain, where it joins the Delaware River; so that by two deeds, of 12th. Sept., and the Minnisinks and Pomptons of 23rd. of October 1758, the Indian titles to all the lands of New Jersey were conveyed,—treaties of peace and friendship were intermediately held and confirmed, by the usual ceremonies of belts and wampum, and thus the Indian title, (as far as the devices of man, by the aid of his common and statute laws are available,) became extinct, and this year completed the Exodus of the Delawares, from New Jersey and Pennsylvania to the country west of the Alleghanies, leaving only about one hundred and fifty of the Minsis in our eastern section.*

To the honor of New Jersey however, upon the settlement of the Brothertons, the Legislature continued to exercise a provident care over them, by the appointment of commissioners to superintend the management of their lands, and other affairs.† This tribe continued in their new possessions until the year 1801, when reduced to a small number, they obtained by a new Act of Assembly, permission to sell these lands in fee,‡ and remove to a settlement at Stockbridge, where the resident Oneidas had invited them in characteristic phrase, "to eat of their dish," from whence impelled, either by their own roving disposition, or the restlessness of their pale faced neighbours, they have since retired further into the interior towards Green Bay.

The rights of hunting and fishing though, as we have seen but a mere nominal privilege, had always been and was especially reserved for the Indians, on such lands and waters, by the Act of 1758; and in 1832, this tribe memorialized the Legislature to give them a compensation and receive a transfer of the right of hunting and fishing, although it was considered barred by voluntary abandonment, a remuneration was granted rather as a monument of kindness and compassion, to the remnant of a once powerful and friendly people, occupants and

^{*} It is said (N. J. Journal,) that in 1769, Governor Franklin attended a convention of several Colonial Governors, with the Six Nations, when they acknowledged the justice of New Jersey in bringing offenders to punishment, and that they had no claim or demand on the province. We have not learned that the Six Nations ever had any such claim, and therefore we may less regard the complimentary title they bestowed on our State, by an unpronouncable word, consisting of almost as many letters as the alphabet—Sagorighwigogostha, signifying the "door of justice."

[†] Act, 17th. March, 1796.

[†] Act N. J. Dec. 3, 1801.

[§] Act N. J. 12th. March, 1832.

Il Gordon's Hist. N. J. p. 65.

natives of the State, and as the consummation of a proud fact in the history of New Jersey, that every Indian claim to her soil and its franchises has been acquired by fair and voluntary transfer!" us not assume that such an act, commendable in itself, cancels the obligation that must forever bind us to this unhappy race of men; voluntary abandonment is no sound principle for extinguishing rights which have been so restricted that reason has not been left free to exercise them; -here was the grievance set forth at Easton, "The cattle said they, are yours, but those which are wild are ours, or should be common to both, for when we sold the land we did not purpose to deprive ourselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a stick of wood when occasion required." That generation has passed away, but there are those of their posterity who have still hearts to burn, and tears to flow, when they listen to the story of premeditated injury and oppression, which Indian tradition has faithfully preserved. The appropriation of a few thousand pounds can never atone for the degradation of that race whose country we enjoy, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone," a weightier compensation is required of us, beyond any estimate of gold and silver. If it is said that the natives of New Jersey united with the enemy in 1756, the result of the Commissioner's Inquiry into the treatment of the Indians, too clearly shows the existence of more aggravated causes, than history will ever faithfully dwell upon; -accumulated wrongs require the aid of some spirit stirring press,—the popular ear and prejudice,—the policy and subtleness of a so-called improved state of society.-It required indeed the feelings and manners and enthusiasm of the age in which we have lived, or in which our political existence commenced, with all its appliances, to make such an impression as history will impartially convey to future generations. But the Indian must be his own avenger, or sit in sullen silence until time shall have swept away the causes of his woe, by the revolutions incident to society; he was not ungrateful,—his hostility had its foundation in the baseness and venality of those who came under the guise of friends, to bring the blessings of peace and civilization, but ministered to the worst passions of human nature, by the introduction of strong liquors,-and exercised injustice and inhumanity by obtaining grants of land for considerations of comparatively no value,—by deceptions in their traffic,—incarcerating their bodies for debt,-entrapping their deer and other game by many refined inventions,—while sovereign power interdicted his hitherto free and uninterrupted pursuit of those means (to him) of subsistence, health and comfort, and spread around an insurmountable barrier to the enjoyment of his possessions for other purposes. Nay more, he had at this period experienced the practical effects of the Colonial Statute of 1757-8, which provided for the "fifty good, large and fierce dogs to discover him in his last retreat among the rocks and mountains."*

One who has most feelingly expressed himself on this subject has given us a key to that relentless conduct of the Indian: speaking of the regiment about to proceed to the north, he observes two hundred of this force were destined to unite with any troops for pursuing the enemy to his den, and making him in the sufferings of his wives and children, feel the horrors he had delighted to inflict. Was it then at all remarkable, that in the midst of the licensed carnage between nations of the highest cultivation of intellect and morals, these untutored men, with such resentments should hesitate to retribute what their enemies would do? Well might the Indian reason in the words of the Jew of Venice,—

"Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions? warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a christian is? senses, affections? If you prick us do we not bleed? if you poison us do we not die? if you wrong us shall we not have revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why revenge; the villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction."

We talk of equal rights and just privileges, as if man in his rudest state was insensible of their existence, or unworthy of their enjoyment, while they are alike the inheritance of all. The murderous tomahawk and dreadful scalping knife in the hands of a whooping savage, impaling men and indiscriminately slaughtering and taking captive helpless women and children,—firing their dwellings at midnight, and spreading desolation in his trail; are the exciting pictures, drawn to aggravate the horrors of war,—while they seem to be mitigated and softened down in the recital of similar deeds by a well disciplined and martially uniformed soldiery.—But they are both alike the scourges of created things, and death and destruction are the end of each.

The history of all our wars will if faithfully penned attest the fact, that whatever may have been the general opinion of Indian atrocities, each nation has endeavored to enlist their services, and when thus aid-

^{* 2} Neville's Law N. J. p. 202.

^{*} Merchant of Venice, III. Act, Scene 1.

ed have in many instances exceeded their savage allies in dealing out the most appalling cruelties. The outrages at Wyoming though executed by the "accursed Brant" and his tribe, were not less the promptings of a greater savage in the person of Butler, although the gloss of history and poetry has left him less of that false honor which has consigned them both to eternal detestation and infamy.—And where in the annals of Indian warfare shall we find a parallel with the destruction of the unresisting and defenceless Pequods of New England, or the extermination of the Creeks? The ravages of Hyder Ally on the Carnatic as they are narrated in all the glowing eloquence of Burke, did not exceed the devastation of the Mohawks by Sullivan, when he penetrated their country in 1779, and destroyed with the lives of the miserable inhabitants, their cultivated fields and peaceful homes, leaving one wide track of utter desolation.* Truly has it been said that "These unfortunate beings have been doubly wronged by the white man, first driven from their native soil by the sword of the invader, and then darkly slandered by the pen of the historian; the former has treated them like the beasts of the forests; the latter has written volumes to justify him in his outrages,—the former found it easier to exterminate than to civilize,—the latter to abuse than discriminate,—the hideous appellation of savage and pagan were sufficient to sanction the deadly hostilities of both, and the lone wanderers of the forest were persecuted and dishonored not because they were guilty, but because they were ignorant.†"

Having obtained his possessions, and expelled him from his home, the faithful chastenings of conscience were to be allayed, and the rebuke of an impartial posterity stilled by the *Tyrant's plea*, and by contrasting the advantages of an ameliorated state of Society, with the cruelty and excesses of barbarism. And yet the Indian tauntingly upbraids him with such violations of the rules of justice and mercy as are unknown to his own people; and it is only the familiarity we have with our habits and practices, that prevents a con-

^{*} Both the design of this expedition and its accomplishment, forcibly reminds us of one of the most touching pieces of eloquence in our language. "Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple, the miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered, others without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function,—fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry—those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled ci ties but escaping fire and sword and exile they fled into the jaws of famine.—Burke on the Invasion of the Carnatic.

[†] Analectic Magazine, Feb. 1816.

viction of our own barbarism in the midst of boasted refinement. When you speak of your own tolerance and of his debasing superstition, he reverts to the scenes which crimson the pages of your early provincial history with the innocent blood of those who suffered for witchcraft at Salem, under the sanction of the pious yet deluded Cotton Mather and Noves.* When we speak of tender mercies he will shew you the Statute which until lately permitted you to immure a citizen for debt, within the walls of a prison, and prevent the means of discharging it-of scourges and stripes in your armies and navies,—of selling the persons of the poor,—of the indiscriminate incarceration of the accused and condemned,-read to him in the charter of your rights that all men are born free and equal, and you are reminded of thousands of fellow creatures born in the same land and speaking the same language who are held in absolute bondage; and when you descant on the perfection of your constitution and wholesome laws, moral restraints, and religious privileges,—you are asked to account for the evils that walk at noon day in your principal cities. -for your riots and incendiarisms, when in the midst of the conflagration of Temples dedicated to the Deity, peaceable and unoffending citizens are immolated to the madness and violence of an implacable mob; he does not account by the common process for these anomalies, that "they arise from the imperfection of all human institutions," but he draws out the stern and inflexible rule which the white man applies to himself.

Happily the corruption that sometimes festers in the seats of public councils and among men in high places, are veiled from his searching enquiry and comparison. But enough is disclosed if not to justify the Indian's self-avengement, yet to show, that neither necessity,—nor sovereign right,—nor voluntary abandonment—can divest that title which can be supported, not by the nicely woven technical conceits of common law, or international policy, but as his own free soil from the hand of nature, the best and highest, of all assurances, declared and established, according to the eternal principles of natural justice and right.

We have endeavored to shew that if the Indian has been actuated by a retaliatory spirit, the white man has been not less successful in his exhibitions of natural depravity, and while as a state we have endeavored to atone for the neglect, and oppression, and injustice of generations past, there still remains a debt to be discharged to the remnants of a noble race.

^{*} Bancroft's Hist. U.S. and Marshall's Life of Washington, 1 vol.

What then are the remedies that can be applied for their amelioration?

At this time there are gathered together in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minesota, upwards of 160,000 Indiaus, comprising many thousands of the Algonquins, of whom 80,000 are in a state capable of improvement, they have receded before the tide of population, and the aggressions of their pale-faced neighbors, and as time advances and new governments are organized to embrace the territory they occupy, again for like reasons are they to yield to the necessity of parting with their domain, and seeking other homes,

- "They waste us; ay, like April snow
- "In the warm noon, we shrink away;
- "And fast they follow as we go
- "Towards the setting day,-
- "Till they shall fill the land, and we
- "Are driven into the western sea."*

not so however if we cultivate among them the means our system of political economy recommends, with the aid of moral and religious instruction, in a word, it is but to give them your precious rights, privileges and enjoyments, and the work is accomplished. But is it feasible?, is the hackneyed phrase "he is an Indian, he will be an Indian still," to be "as a lion in the way?" The memorials of Caupolica,—of Red Jacket,—Pontiac—Osceola,—Tecumseh and hundreds who have required only a place in civilized society, to class them with the proudest spirits of any age, or clime, are evidences of their susceptibility of the warmest affections and the noblest deeds that can shed lustre and honor upon society.

There is at this time a memorial before the House of Congress, the object of which is to induce the General Government to locate the Indians in a collective body, with a government of their own, when after they are secured in their lands, they may make such improvements as shall serve to attach them to their homes, and it is recommended not only for its practicability, but for the soundest interests of our country,—and it has for its object—

The concentration of the Indians with a view to the annual distribution of their annuities with consequent reduction of expenses; A treaty with them that they are never again to be removed, with

a certainty that they will sanction such treaty;

An accommodation to their social principles, to live in larger bodies, and with an improvement of all their domestic enjoyments;

^{*} Bryant.

The reunion of all the northern tribes whose language is so nearly identified, securing every sociol blessing and preventing the evils of war;

The adoption of our form of government, with all its attendant

advantages.

The last is the principle and most interesting feature in this plan, which altho untried, for many reasons is commended for an experiment which may prove successful, if a more effectual mode cannot be devised. That Indians who have been educated at our colleges have returned again to barbarous habits, and that they have resisted every attempt to socialize them under our State Governments, within whose limits they have hitherto removed, only proves the necessity of giving them a Government to be administered by themselves, or perfecting some plan hitherto unsuccessful of quieting them by an administration of our own.*

These are briefly the objects intended, the advantage of such a system to our Government would be, not only to simplify the Indian department,—to remove its perplexing difficulties,—expensive agencies, and to obviate the course of judicial determinations, but above all (that which the Atlantic States have less to fear, but our western frontiers even now apprehend and are realizing) those continued incursions which want and desperation excite, so revolting in their execution and so destructive in their consequences.

The game, their only subsistence provided by nature, is fast disappearing in their forests and on their mountains,† the trapper by recent

^{*} The last Report on Indian affairs shews how difficult it is to improve their present condition, and recommends "the adoption at the earliest practical period of proper measures for bringing them nearer together in positions where they will be more safe and and which shall afford greater inducements as well as facilities for effecting a radical change in their condition and circumstances, agreeably to the dictates of humanity and a wise and enlightened policy."—Rep. Com. Ind. Affairs, Nov. 1849.

Destitute condition of the Winnebago Indians, 1850.—From the Minnesota Pioneer, of the 15th. ult., we learn that the condition of these poor wretches is deplorable. They are represented as being nearly destitute of food in a miserable encampment, where there is no game, half-clad and half-sheltered, where they must either receive assistance from the government, starve to death, or live by pillaging. The Pioneer states that, a short time since, between one and two hundred of them made portage of their canoes around the falls of St. Anthony, floated down under the guns of Fort Snelling and glided by St. Paul in the night, within a stone's throw of the Secretary's Office, and are now on the way to their old homes below. The voice of many is, push these poor creatures, these primitive holders of the soil—westward. Civilization demands their hunting grounds and council plains. They must go westward, and westward it will be, till the last of the race find a grave in the broad bosom of the Pacific. This should not be. We enjoy their lands. The least our Congress can do, is to give them a living.

[†] See Report on Indian Affairs, 1850, Indian Bureau.

computation destroys yearly the number of 100,000 buffaloes, and the Rocky Mountains form the utmost limit, at which the Indian will brace himself to be driven no farther. The latest information from our Indian bureau shews the utter impossibility of force in removing certain tribes, and the advantages of an amicable arrangement,—and with regard to others, their readiness to receive, and self-denial to accomplish their own moral improvement.

Surely we need no further inducements to commence a work of

retributive justice and patriotic regard.

Fellow members of the Historical Society, what nobler cause could excite our ardent affections, or demand our strongest efforts? the virtuoso may yield his contributions, and the chronicler of events enrich our archives with the records of the past; the historian, poet and rhetorician, may instruct, delight and edify; but every relique is a memento of a land we cannot justly honor as our own, and only tends to increase that fearful weight of responsibility and condemnation that now, and will forever rest upon us, until we have elevated this fellow creature to a participation in those privileges for which his physical structure,—his moral faculties and social habits so eminently befit him, and which God and nature intended should be his.

The last council fire of this unhappy race is fast dying away, and its fitful gleam is an emblem of the Indian's fate, but ere it has expired and while there is hope, let us bear out to them a torch from our altar of liberty, to light them on the pathway of civilization, that in the spirit of our country's motto, "E pluribus unum," they may, as one with us, fulfil a nation's destiny.

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